

CANADIAN FRONTIERS OF SETTLEMENT

IN NINE VOLUMES

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VOLUME VII

GROUP SETTLEMENT
ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN
WESTERN CANADA

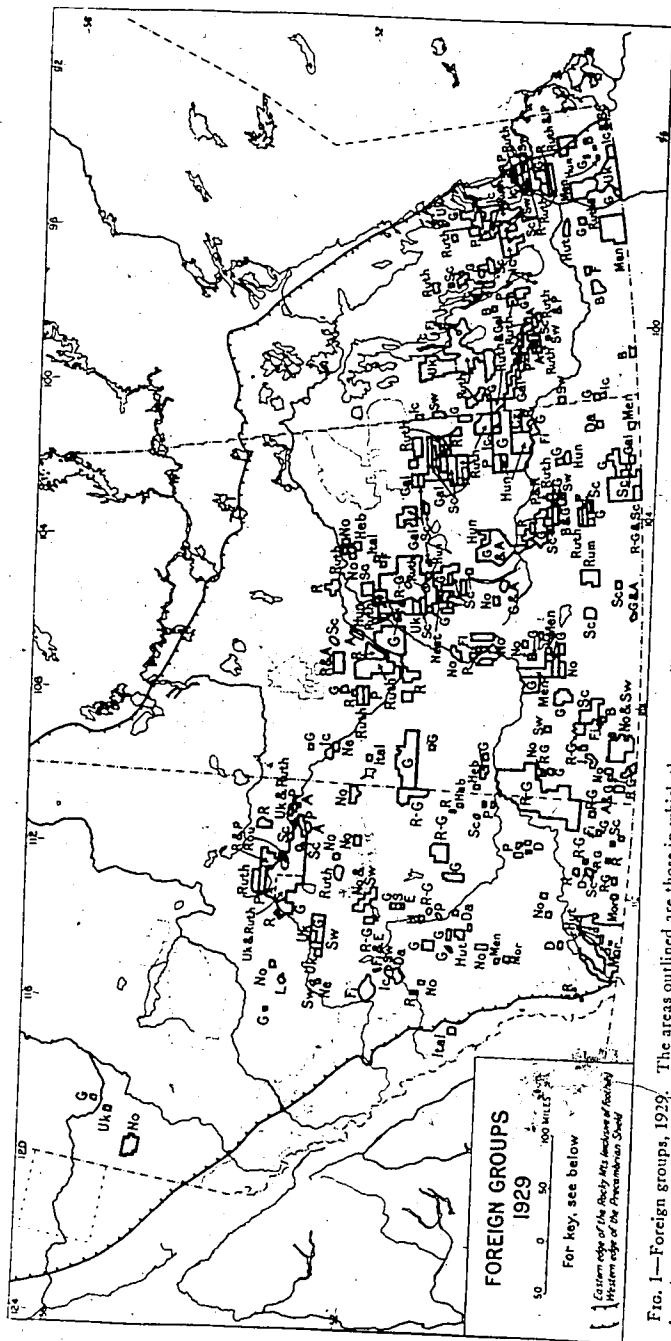


FIG. 1.—Foreign groups, 1929. The areas outlined are those in which the groups still retain to some extent their old-world practices and languages. Key to symbols: A, Austrians; B, Belgians; C, Czechoslovaks; D, Dutch; Da, Danes; E, Estonians; F, French; Fi, Finns; G, Germans; Gal, Galicians; Heb, Hebrews; Hun, Hungarians; Hut, Hutterites; Ic, Icelanders; Ital, Italians; L, Letts; Men, Mennonites; Mor, Moravians; Ne, Negroes; Nest, Nestorians ("Assyrians"); No, Norwegians; P, Poles; R, Russians; Rum, Rumanians; Ruth, Ruthenians; S, Swiss; Sw, Swedes; Sc, Scandinavians (undifferentiated); Uk, Ukrainians.

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VOLUME VII

GROUP SETTLEMENT

ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN
WESTERN CANADA

BY

C. A. DAWSON

Professor of Sociology at McGill University



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FOREWORD

Among the many problems of settlement, there is none more interesting than that of the groups of "peculiar peoples" who have sought in *bloc* settlements to preserve their religion and their ways of life. In settlement the pioneer is normally an individualist, an experimenter, who breaks away from the traditional paths. The groups with whom this volume is concerned are, in the main, those who have gone out into the wilderness to escape a world which pressed heavily upon them not as individuals but as groups. They have formed "cultural islands" which have retarded the progress of assimilation, but in the process they have made important material and spiritual contributions to the wider community about them.

Professor Dawson's study is a study of groups rather than of "foreigners". It is a study of a type of settlement which contrasts sharply with a normal type of individualist settlement. As such it is an appropriate part of this series.

W. A. MACKINTOSH

PREFACE

The investigation, on which this volume is based, was made, in part, by field workers who spent some time in typical areas occupied by each of the five representative ethnic groups studied. They filled in schedules dealing with the community as a whole, with various institutions and organizations, and with a limited number of farm families. Since the major emphasis in the field-work was placed on the gathering of information other than detailed farm schedule data, the number of farm families studied is necessarily small. An additional reason for limiting the size of the sample groups was the advisability of minimizing this type of investigation in the midst of a period of agricultural depression. The scheduled information was supplemented by data secured through less formal interviews with many persons. Still other materials were obtained from official sources such as the *Census of Canada*, the *Canada Year Book*, and *Agriculture, Climate, and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada*, prepared for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics under the direction of Professor W. Burton Hurd and Dr. T. W. Grindley. Additional documents were secured from members of the different ethnic groups and from those who had made studies of the latter. Special mention should be made of Dean F. M. Clement of the Faculty of Agriculture, University of British Columbia, for making accessible an unpublished study of the Doukhobors made under his direction and that of Professor H. R. Hare by Mr. H. Trevor (Snesev). Specific reference to this study will be noted in the body of the text.

Information concerning the Mormon settlements was collected by Professor Lowry Nelson of Brigham Young University with the assistance of Mrs. Nelson. Professor Nelson spent three months during the summer of 1930 among the Mormons of southern Alberta and he was generously aided by the officials of the Mormon Church who gave him access to its extensive records. At a later date he made a systematic analysis of the data collected.

Mr. Ewart P. Reid gathered the historical data for the Doukhobors as a partial requirement for his M.A. thesis in the Department of Economics and Political Science at McGill University;

1932. He obtained additional information directly from Doukhobor communities in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia during the summer of 1932. During the following year he wrote the preliminary draft of the Doukhobor study.

The field work in the Mennonite, German Catholic, and French-Canadian areas was done during the summer of 1932 by Glenn H. Craig and Lloyd G. Reynolds, graduate students in the Department of Sociology, McGill University. The preliminary report on the Mennonites was made by Lloyd G. Reynolds; on the French-Canadians by Glenn H. Craig; and on the German Catholics by Albert Moellmann, graduate student of the Department of Sociology, McGill University. These various case studies were finally analysed and correlated by the author with the assistance of Miss Eva R. Younge, M.A., research assistant in the Department of Sociology, McGill University, and Miss Evelyn R. Cornell, M.A.

It is not possible to name all those who made this volume possible through their generous coöperation; they include the religious, educational, commercial, and agricultural leaders in the different ethnic communities; there was also the ready assistance of governmental officials throughout Western Canada and at Ottawa. Special mention, however, should be made of the aid given by Mr. A. E. Palmer, Assistant Superintendent of the Dominion Experimental Farms at Lethbridge, Alberta, and Mr. Robert England, Western Manager of the Department of Colonization and Agriculture, Canadian National Railways.

To my colleague, Professor E. C. Hughes, I am indebted for many helpful suggestions. I am grateful too for the wise counsel of Professor W. A. Mackintosh, Director of Research for the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee.

C. A. DAWSON

INTRODUCTION

LARGE areas of the Canadian West have been settled by individuals having a variety of ethnic and occupational backgrounds who took up homesteads or bought cheap land. This form of settlement was a natural outgrowth of a competitive system whose outstanding characteristic was an experimental individualism. In these heterogeneous communities a moderate degree of social solidarity emerged and local institutions were gradually evolved but the process of settlement under such conditions was long and arduous.¹

Group settlement, too, has been much in evidence in the prairie region. A racial origins map for Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta shows the extent to which homogeneous groups have taken possession of specific areas where their members comprised from half to all of the population and where a sense of communal solidarity was experienced from the outset. This volume deals with these ethnic groups—groups in which language, sectarianism, nationalism, and collectivism in various combinations distinguish them from their neighbours (Fig. 1). Some of these groups exhibit more individualism in community building than others. The Germans and French are the most individualistic of the five groups studied, but their individualism is held in check by a common desire to maintain their cultural distinctiveness. The collective *motif* is dominant in the sectarian settlements which are described in Part I.

The main characteristics of sects have been set forth with insight by Professor R. E. Park.² In the sect a spontaneous enthusiasm for an ideal "way of life" unites the members, regardless of how divergent their original backgrounds. Conscious of their solidarity, they pursue their objectives with a fervour which is often fanatical. They ardently oppose compromise because they are convinced that all others should be possessed of their "way of life". While at its inception the purposes of the sect and their means of attainment are vague, they are emotionally compelling. In time they become defined in a "way of life" which prescribes for every member what

¹ The nature of individualistic settlement has been described in detail in Volume VI of this series.

² Introduction to Pauline U. Young, *The Pilgrims of Russian Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932).

he should unalterably do in the most intimate affairs. Later, under the impact of more secular and individualistic societies this "way of life" becomes less irreconcilable and more tolerant of the ideal aims of other groups. Such has been the life history of political parties and all or most of our major religious denominations. They emerged in emotional turmoil, were in conflict with the world, and sought to exclude it by every known device.

As just indicated, sectarian behaviour is not limited to the field of religion. Political groups are often as emotionally intense and uncompromising in respect to an ideal order they seek to establish as are religious groups in their espousal of a "way of life". Each type of sect represents a radical departure from the established definitions of situations on which others continue to rely. Yet it is possible to distinguish between them. It is noteworthy of political sects that they soon begin a revolutionary attack upon the social and economic order about them. They seek not to withdraw from the world but to change it for themselves and for all others. The religious sects, with whom we have been most familiar, have endeavoured to withdraw from the world and perfect their mystically conceived "way of life". If those about them would be saved they must flee the world and join the sect. The religious sect gives vent to its emotions in experience meetings, through ritual, and by spontaneous assent to its asserted verities. It is ecstatic rather than aggressive. However, if political groups are effectively frustrated in their efforts they may either be dissolved or become emotionally expressive like the religious sect. The Doukhobors and Mennonites had, at least during the early decades of their life on the Canadian prairies, the characteristics of the religious sect described above. The Mormons represent a middle stage in the evolution of the sect. Their somewhat radical departure from the Bible of the Christian churches, their espousal of polygamy for a period of their history, their recent emergence, and their protracted geographical isolation in the commonwealth of Utah have combined to retain for the Mormons much of their original zeal. Nevertheless, in many respects they have developed an elaborate and mature type of religious organization and in a large measure have become accommodated to the secular world after the fashion of other major religious denominations. This has been facilitated by the possession of the same language as their neighbours.

The other groups studied belong to the Roman Catholic Church whose sectarian stage was outgrown during the early centuries of

the Christian era. Long ago this church learned how to deal discriminatingly with secular forces. Its "way of life" and the philosophy of a competitive and individualistic order have become adjusted to each other. As a religious group it is mature and wise in the ways of two worlds. In a large measure ritual and technique have taken the place of the unconventional enthusiasm of the early centuries of expectancy. The Roman Catholic Church has had its periods of revival when emotional urgency was great. At times it has become identified with linguistic and cultural revivals and received a transferred emotional quickening in some respects akin to sectarianism. Thus the Roman Catholic Church is linked with linguistic and nationalistic sentiments in German Catholic communities in the prairie region. Similarly, the Catholic Church is associated with French-Canadian nationalism in facing Anglicization and the marked secularization which accompanies it. In situations where cultural invasion threatens, religious and nationalistic minorities manifest a sectarian tinge and seek to retain their identity by isolating themselves in some measure from their neighbours. This is done by settling in homogeneous groups and maintaining their own language and institutions.

Such congregate settlement is known as *segregation*. Racial and religious groups may have blocks of land allocated to them as had the Doukhobors and the Mennonites, and in large measure also the German Catholics and the Mormons. Without prevision, however, segregation may take place through the natural desire of migrants to settle beside neighbours possessing the same language, religion, and general culture. To some degree this natural process was present in all groups studied, but it was most active in the case of the Mormons, Germans, and French-Canadians. In these latter groups it was re-inforced by the colonizing urge of a sponsoring institution, a land-settlement organization, or a nationalistic society. Furthermore, leaders in these homogeneous communities were active in stimulating the entry of population elements possessing their own ethnic backgrounds. Consequently, these minorities became distinctive societies occupying their own land-base and further separated from neighbouring communities by language, institutions, and nationalistic and sectarian sentiments. For varying periods these "culture islands" enjoyed a "splendid isolation". During such isolation, distinctive sects like the Mennonites and Doukhobors remained at a stage of arrested development in their life cycle. The world was shut out and they retained their initial

fervour and their "way of life" unmodified. Such a situation could not continue when active railway building and the rapid entry of new peoples from outside regions took place. Portions of these sects moved again to new isolated areas. Those who remained experienced an invasion of peoples, institutions, and ideas which profoundly changed their mode of life.

The factor most significant in initiating the invasion of people and institutions within the confines of these "colonies" was the railway which was later supplemented by the permanent highway. The extension of the railway to the vicinity of the colony ordinarily means an intensive settlement of the land in proximity to the latter, as well as an invasion of its margins by outsiders who in time demand that their language, school system, and nationalistic sentiments prevail, not only on the margins, but throughout the colony. This was particularly true when these newcomers belonged to the region's English-speaking majority. Their active demand was a signal for the provincial government to extend its school system to "colony" districts. Thus the process of Anglicization moved forward. With the penetration of the railway within the precincts of the colony Anglicization was intensified because the railway was accompanied by the village which displaced the agricultural or church villages as the main centres within the colony. This displacement took place gradually, as the various studies will demonstrate. The commercial villages became the main points of entry for commercial institutions and professional services, manned in many instances by representatives of the region's English-speaking majority. Furthermore, since the commercial village is part of a constellation of villages and towns which is linked with the focal cities of the region by a permanent network of transportation and communication systems, it constitutes a major channel for the diffusion of outside culture in its ethnic constituency. Through the various avenues of social and economic penetration these ethnic groups are led to speak the official language of the region and to adopt its prevailing methods of making a living, its expenditure practices, and its loyalties. This assimilation of the colony as a unit gathers momentum through the children of immigrants and may require two generations or more for its completion. Knowing their young people's susceptibility to the cultural penetration of the surrounding communities, the sectarians respond to the situation by perennial opposition to government schools and to extensive contacts between their children and non-colony people.

Assimilation to the more secular world surrounding and invading these colonies calls for a consideration of the subsidiary processes of *secularization*. Secular values, as distinguished from sacred, are calculable, utilitarian, and mundane. They are largely divested of emotion and sentiment, and involve attitudes which reflect, in a measure, the critical detachment of science. There are aspects of church organization that have a secular emphasis, as for instance the administration of its finances, and there is a patriotic verve to sections of the public school curriculum which has much in common with sectarianism. Thus secular matters are not simply those which are dissociated from the dominance of the church, although such dissociation has ordinarily enhanced secularization and narrowed the field of religious control. These studies indicate how colony schools come under the direction of the secularly-minded provincial administrators of education and how minorities adopt the official language of the region as a utility and not as an object of sentiment. Evident, too, is the way in which play and recreation come under the direction of those who provide opportunities for participation in them on a pecuniary basis. Whether commercialized or not, colony play-activities are, increasingly, the outcome of human impulses controlled by the experimental standards of a secular society. Secularized play and recreation make their appeal more particularly to young people in these ethnic groups. They are a means of emancipation from strict patriarchal family authority and from the absolute control of a closed-group society.

Secularization in these colonies is manifested, also, in the detachment of religion from a mother tongue and from the nationalistic sentiments associated with the latter: this means a wider use of the English language in religious services; it signifies the partial transfer of sentiment to non-traditional community objectives; and, in consequence, religious feeling freed from its previous ethnic affiliations becomes more tolerant of these new loyalties and is eventually alined with them in new social situations. In short, the religious group re-defines its role in Anglicized communities with their marked secular emphasis. Sectarians of whatever type tend to make their peace with the plain facts of the extremely competitive society which has surrounded and invaded their colonies.

The series of case studies included in this volume are arranged in order of the number of main factors which distinguish each from typical individualistic-areas in the prairie region. In Chapters

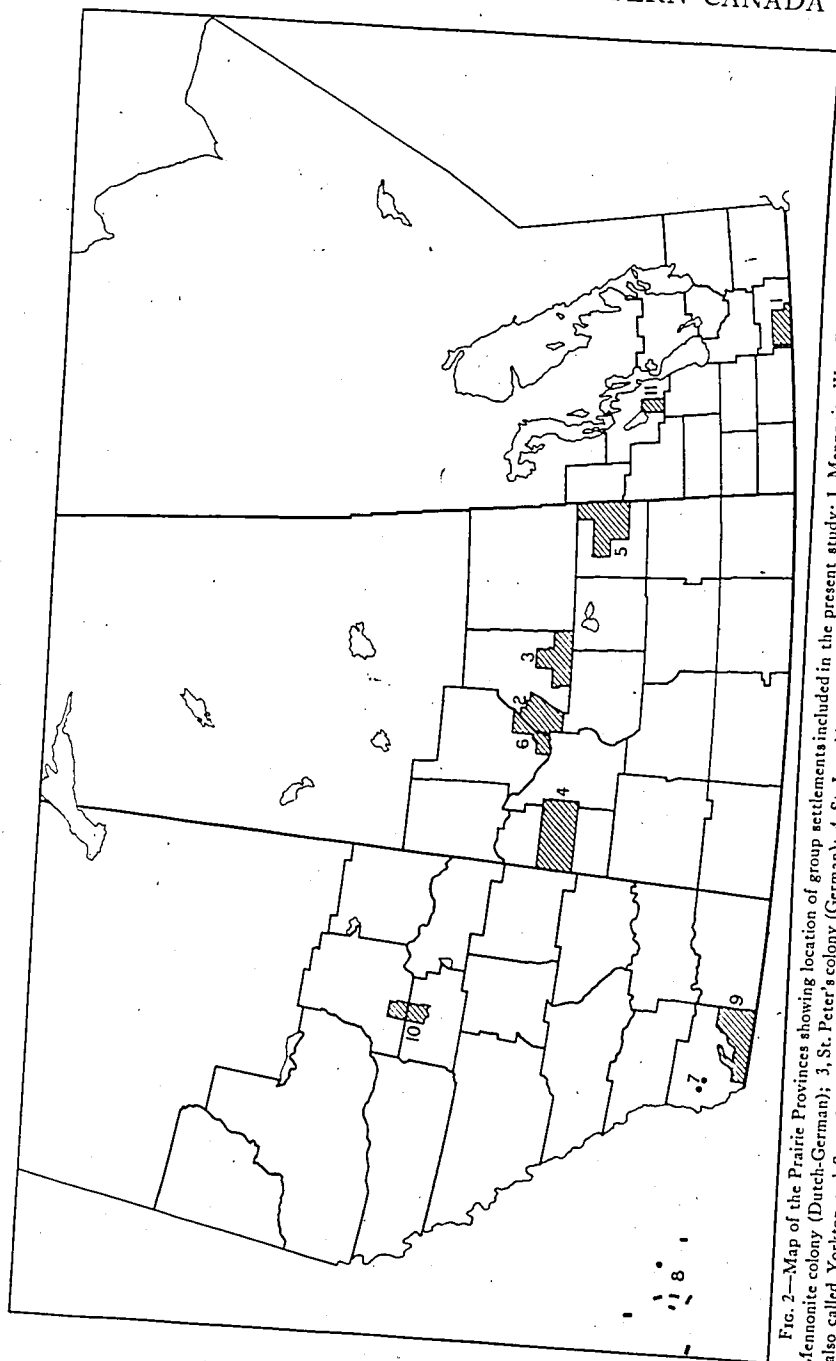


FIG. 2.—Map of the Prairie Provinces showing location of group settlements included in the present study; 1, Mennonite West Reserve (Dutch-German); 2, Rosethorn (also called Yorkton and Swan River colonies); 3, St. Joseph's colony (German); 4, St. Peter's colony (German); 5, North and South colonies and Devil's Lake colony (Dutch-German); 6, Saskatchewan (Blaine Lake and Saskatoon) colonies (Dutch-German); 7, Cowley colony (Dutch-German); 8, British Columbia settlement (French-Canadian); 9, Rose settlement (French-Canadian); 10, St. Albert settlement (French-Canadian); 11, Ste. Rose settlement (French-Canadian).

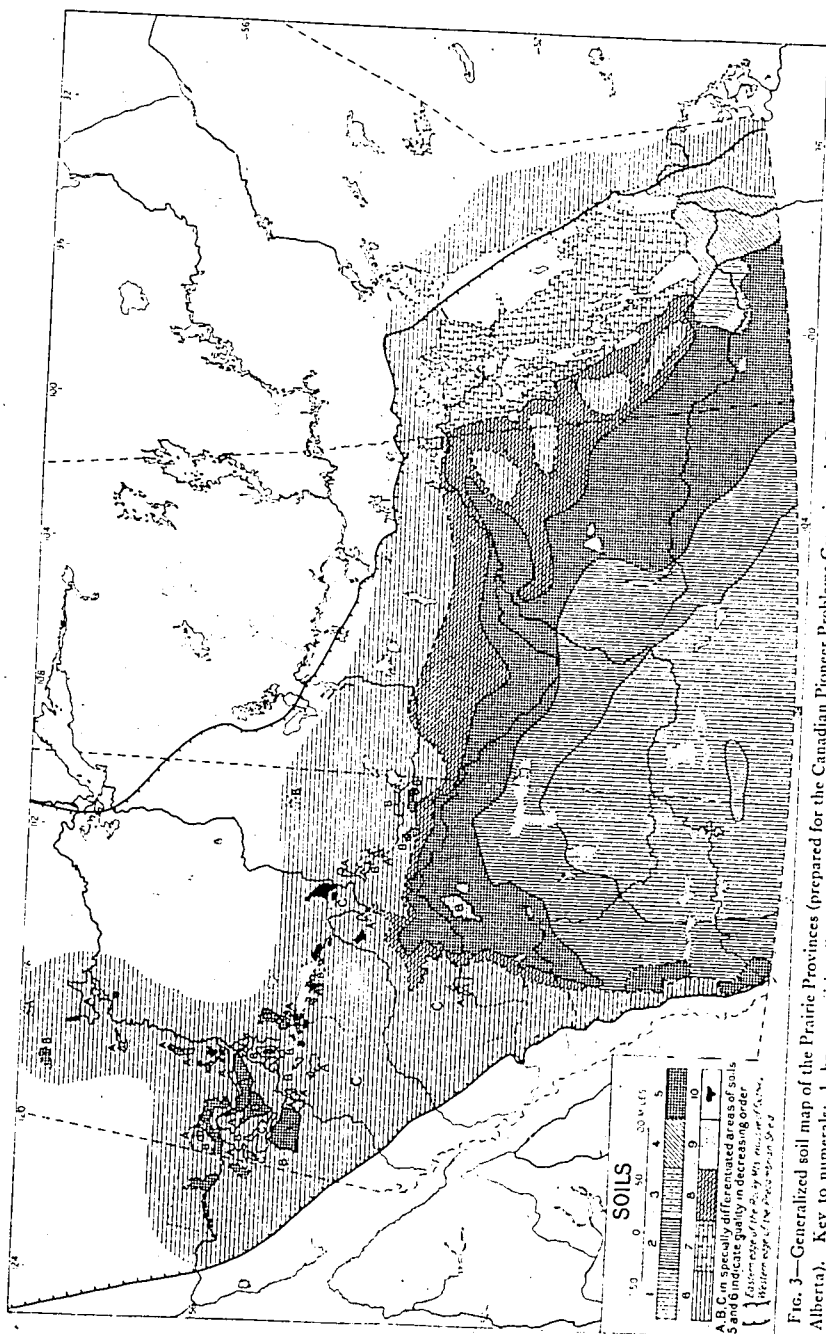


FIG. 3—Generalized soil map of the Prairie Provinces (prepared for the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee by Dr. J. D. Newton, Department of Soils, University of Alberta). Key to numerals: 1, brown prairie soils; 2, dark brown prairie soils; 3, chestnut prairie soils; 4, black meadow soils; 5, black park soils; 6, grey timber soils and peat; 7, grey timber soils and high lime peat; 8, transitional soils (grey timber and black park); 9, sand dunes; 10, muskegs.

I-XIII appear the groups which settled in farm villages, while Chapters XIV-XIX deal with groups which settled on scattered farmsteads in segregated areas.

The Doukhobors are treated first because they differ most from individualistic Canadian communities. They live in farm villages, are a sect with a very distinctive "way of life", are collectivistic in ownership and operation of land, and differ from their neighbours in language and social practices. The Mennonites, like the Doukhobors, are quite distinctive from their Canadian neighbours in all major items except that they are individualists in ownership and operation of their land. The Mormons are still more like their fellow Canadians than are the Mennonites, since the former speak the English language. Furthermore, although religious traditions separate the Mormons from the religious denominations of Canada, they were somewhat tolerant of the latter at the time of migration and were moving towards a social adjustment with their non-Mormon neighbours. Some of them, also, were British in birth and sentiment.

The German Catholics are treated first among those who settled on scattered homesteads because, while, like the French-Canadians, they differed from English-speaking Canadians in language and social practices, they were not Canadians. Yet the Germans differed from the latter only in language and certain cultural heritages, which had been somewhat changed during the previous sojourn of many of them in the United States. The French-Canadians are treated last because they are Canadians by birth, language, and sentiment. They are, however, a minority group in the region studied and subject to many of the forces which are transforming other minority groups into individualistic English-speaking Canadian communities.

Placed within the frame of reference just outlined, these groups represent in progression a series of case studies which reveal how land settlement is effected by homogeneous groups, their inevitable transformation into heterogeneous groups under Canadian conditions of mobility, and the burden placed on Canadian institutions and Canadian patience during the long period of their economic and social readjustment. In each case study the reader will discover the repetition of the natural forces which are effecting that readjustment. An understanding of these forces is essential to those interested in land settlement and the assimilation of ethnic groups in rural areas.

PART I
THE DOUKHOBORS

CHAPTER I

SETTLING OF THE DOUKHOBORS IN WESTERN CANADA

1. *The Doukhobor Matrix in Russia*¹

THE Doukhobors are members of a religious sect which originated in Russia during the eighteenth century. The name Doukhobor means "spirit-wrestler" and was applied to those whom the Russian Orthodox Church considered to be wrestling against the Holy Spirit. Like so many other epithets applied in derision, the name stuck. But the people to whom it was applied chose to interpret the name as describing those who fight, not with material weapons, but armed with the Spirit of Truth. Towards the close of the nineteenth century a number of them adopted the name "Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" but to the rest of the world they have remained Doukhobors.

The origin of the Doukhobor sect is obscure. Orest Novitsky, a Russian, whose book on the Doukhobors was published in Kief in 1832,² notes the similarity between Doukhobor doctrines and those of various other religious minorities who dissented from one or another of the larger Christian churches.

Their chief doctrines were: belief in one God, an emphasis on "the Christ within", resurrection of the souls who have "been enlightened by the spirit of God", an aversion to fame, honours, sensual pleasures, and to luxury in food or dress "because luxury indulging the flesh, strengthens it to stifle the inward light coming from above".³

They incurred the wrath of the Russian Orthodox Church because they taught that "the Christ within is the only true Hierarch and Priest", and that "the sons of God should worship God in spirit and in truth, and, therefore, need no external worship of God." This involved a disregard of all church ceremonial and sacrament; of professional clergy, church decrees, worship of *icons*, and prayers to saints.

¹ The historical facts in this introductory note are drawn from Aylmer Maude, *A Peculiar People The Doukhobors* (New York: 1904).

² Quoted by Aylmer Maude, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

Combined with these unorthodox views were their equally extreme beliefs with regard to civic authorities. They held that "inasmuch as all men are equal, and the children of God do good willingly, without coercion, they do not require any government or authority over them. Government, if needed at all, is needed only for the wicked. To go to war, to carry arms, and to take oaths—is forbidden."⁴ The Doukhobors' beliefs and ideals, like those of other sects, were not always adhered to. Their views varied from year to year, and from one individual to another. This vagueness in doctrine was a natural outcome of the fact that the members of the sect were for the most part illiterate peasants. They accepted the decisions of recognized leaders, who since the beginning of the nineteenth century formed a hereditary line.⁵ Long years of persecution taught them to conceal their beliefs, hence it is impossible to state what the sect, as a community, believed at a given time.

It was inevitable that a group of people with such extreme religious and political views should incur the wrath of the authorities in imperialistic Russia where Church and State were closely allied. The Doukhobors were persecuted from time to time during the eighteenth century, even under more liberal rulers like Catherine II who advocated a policy of religious toleration.

A turning-point came in the history of the sect in 1801 when Czar Alexander I denounced the religious persecutions of his predecessors and allowed the Doukhobors from various parts of Russia to settle in one community at the "Milky Waters" near the sea of Azov. This involved a change from a group, held together by common religious views and the fellowship which develops under common sufferings, to an industrial and economic group, which was no longer under persecution. The result was that the central interest of the group shifted from missionary activities to the practical considerations of building up a new community.

When a sect becomes a community the observer's interest also shifts. As Maude points out,⁶ he no longer asks "what did they believe?" but rather "how did they live?" Novitsky, the Russian Orthodox scholar, to whom reference has already been made, writes in 1832:

To the credit of the Doukhobors one must say that they are sober, laborious,

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁵ These leaders as well as a few of the other influential men of the villages could read and write, but the mass of the people had little or no formal education.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

and frugal; that in their houses they are careful to be clean and tidy; that they are attentive to their agriculture and cattle-breeding, occupations which have been and still are their chief employment.⁷

No mention is made of the Doukhobors being vegetarians at this stage, nor that they were total abstainers from intoxicating beverages, but incidental reference is made to their refusal to do military service.

The failings of the Doukhobors, according to Novitsky,⁸ included superstition, anger, and the prevalence of quarrels among them. He adds that "the distinguishing traits in their character is obstinacy in their doctrine, insubordination to the authorities, insults and slanders toward those who differ from them." It may be observed in passing that the above traits are frequently found in other sects, particularly while they are in the formative stage "with all the world against them."

The Doukhobors prospered in their new home but their peace was short-lived, for the toleration granted them under Alexander I was not continued by his successors. In 1826 some Cossacks who had become Doukhobors were banished to the Caucasus which was inhabited by warlike mountain tribes. About fifteen years later the same fate befell the Doukhobors from the "Milky Waters" settlement.

The climate in their new abode was severe. Wheat could not be grown in the high altitude (6,000 feet above sea level) and even barley did not always ripen. Yet by turning to cattle and sheep raising, and by practising diligence, simplicity, and mutual help, their communities prospered. By 1890 they comprised about 20,000 people in three districts, namely, Georgia (or the Tiflis Government), Elizavetpol Government, and Russian Armenia (also called the "Kars Territory").

In 1887 the death of a woman leader, Loukerya Kalmikova, led to a crisis among the Doukhobors in Georgia, one of the three settlements in the Caucasus. A brother and a nephew of the deceased woman contended for leadership which involved not only prestige among sectarians, but the control of considerable communal property. A bitter conflict ensued, and, against all Doukhobor traditions, the case was taken before a Russian court. The court awarded control of the property to Kalmikova's brother who was supported by a minority of the people. But the "Large Party"

⁷ Quoted by Maude, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

which included about 12,000 people rallied around Peter Verigin, the nephew whom the last leader had trained to be her successor.⁹ He prompted a religious revival among his followers which resulted in a redistribution of goods and the re-introduction of communist practices which had lapsed for several decades. He also enjoined them to cease from killing animals for food, and to abstain from the use of alcoholic beverages and tobacco.

Verigin's views soon brought him into conflict with the authorities and in 1887 he was exiled, first to Archangel and later to Siberia. While in exile he persuaded his people to refuse to bear arms. This revival of earlier practices came at a time when the Russian government had introduced conscription in the Caucasus. Many Doukhobors who complied with their leader's request were flogged and given heavy sentences in military prisons.

In the meantime there was a split in the "Large Party". One group, "the Middle Party", refused to follow Verigin's injunctions, brought by messengers from Siberia. The other group, the "Fasting" Doukhobors who implicitly obeyed Verigin, staged a spectacular burning of all their arms in June 1895. Such open defiance brought swift punishment. Cossacks were sent to flog members of the "fasting" group, and the soldiers were quartered in the villages as among a conquered people. Finally the whole settlement, comprising about 4,000 persons, was broken up and the people dispersed among the villages throughout the Tiflis government.

News of these events was brought to the attention of the general public, especially in England, by Count Leo Tolstoy and other sympathizers, who during the 1890's had become interested in the Doukhobors. This publicity, together with petitions presented to the Czar by influential friends, eventually gained them permission to leave Russia providing: (1) they moved at their own expense, (2) that those in exile (including Peter Verigin) and those already called on military service should work out their sentences, and (3) that if any of them ever returned they would be banished to Siberia.¹⁰

It seemed almost impossible that an illiterate peasant sect, on the verge of starvation and dispersed among strangers should be able to migrate to another country. The situation was made worse by the absence of their leader in Siberia, and by the fact that all

⁹ The story that Peter Verigin was an illegitimate son of Kalmikova's husband, an earlier leader, helped to strengthen his claims to the position of leader (Maude, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153).

¹⁰ Maude, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

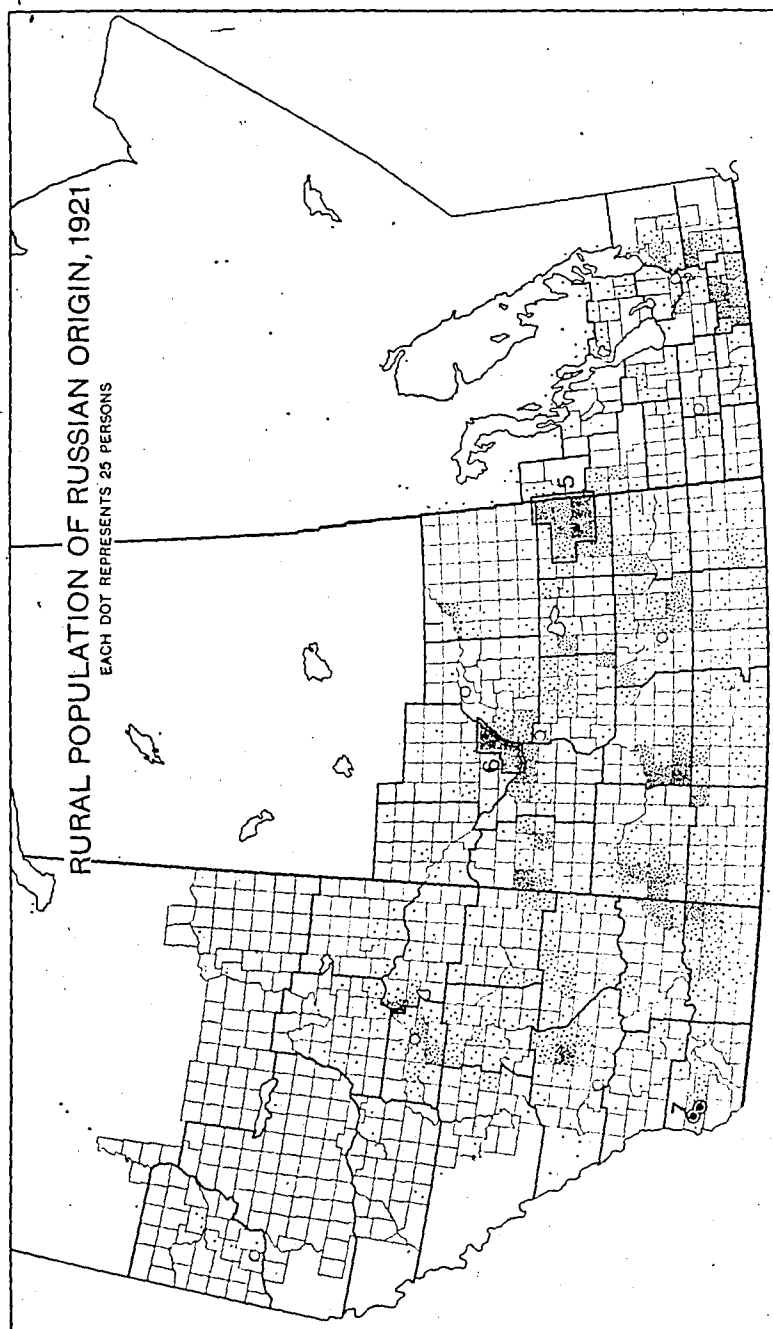


FIG. 4.—Rural population of Russian origin, 1921; 5, North and South colonies (Yorkton-Swan River); 6, Saskatchewan colonies; 7, Cowley colony (based on map in *Agriculture, Climate, and Population of Prairie Provinces of Canada: A Statistical Atlas Showing Past Development and Present Condition*, prepared under the direction of W. Burton Hurd and T. W. Grindley, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1932—hereafter referred to as *Statistical Atlas*).

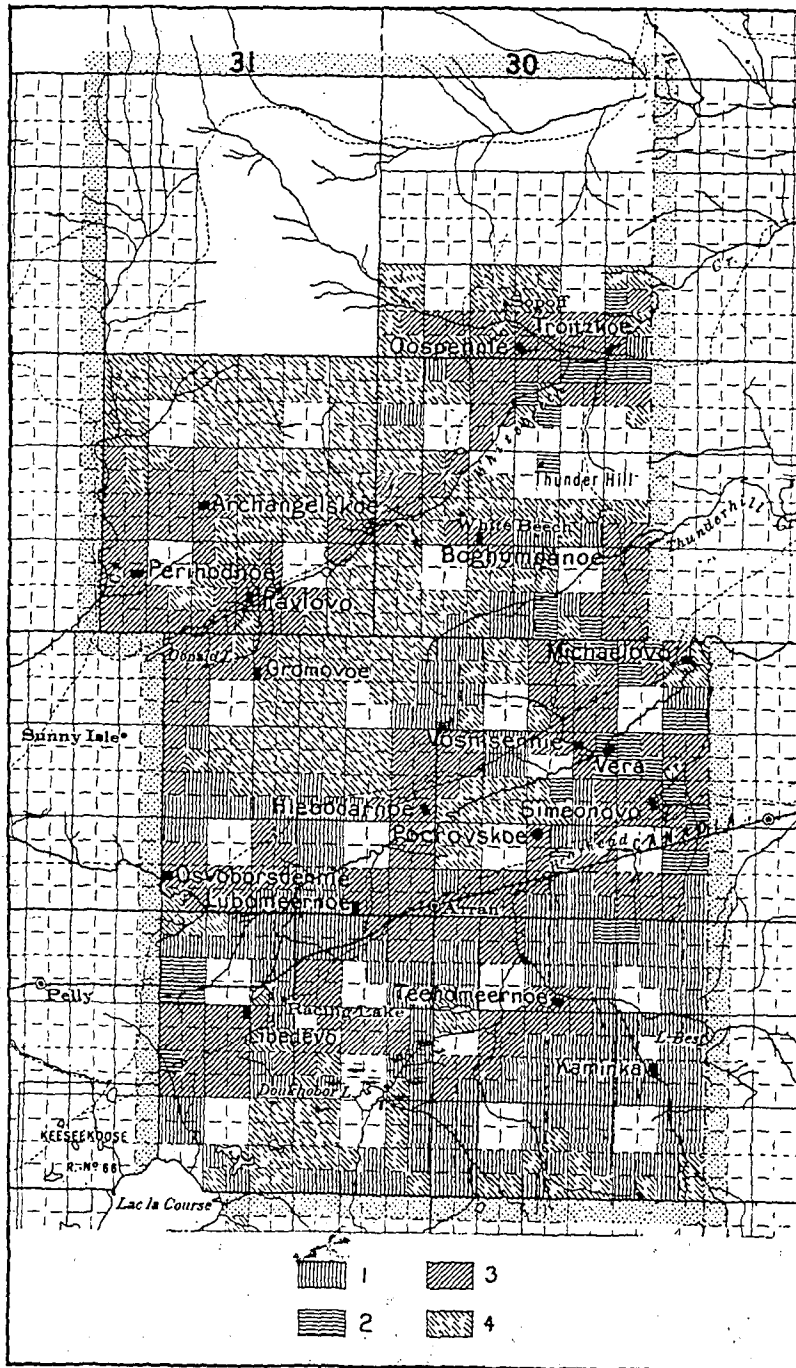


FIG. 5 (See description page 7).

educated people who had tried to help them were banished from the Caucasus. Assistance eventually came from various sources. The two other Doukhobor settlements which had escaped persecution helped their brethren with food and other supplies. Tolstoyans, the English Society of Friends (Quakers), and individual philanthropists supplied both funds and leadership. Other well-wishers gave their personal services. Chief among these were Prince D. A. Hillkoff, a Russian who was exiled for his political views, V. Tchertkoff, a friend of Count Tolstoy, and Aylmer Maude, an English merchant formerly of St. Petersburg. Coöperation among all these people finally resulted in the transference of 7,363 Doukhobors to Canada during 1899. Other Doukhobors, totalling about 13,000 people, who had not been involved in this wave of persecutions, decided not to emigrate. There were, in addition, over 100 exiles in Siberia, some of whom rejoined their families in Canada when their sentences expired.

The transatlantic migration of well over one-third of the Doukhobors brings us to the Canadian phase of the sect's development, which is the subject of study in the following pages.

2. Blocks of Farm Land Allocated to the Sect

The 7,400 Doukhobors who landed in Canada in 1899 constituted the largest party of immigrants ever to arrive in the country at one time. Yet their numbers did not seem to provide extraordinary problems for the government immigration organization. The basis of the Canadian land settlement policy was the conditional grant of free land to *bona fide* single male agriculturists and heads of families. It was known that the Doukhobors wanted to settle in one or more homogeneous groups and that they wished to practise some form of communism. Their wishes were granted as there was precedent for assigning blocks of homestead land to members of one immigrant group.¹¹ In addition to the reservation of land, the government granted Doukhobors exemption from military service.

¹¹ The Mennonites who settled southern Manitoba in 1873 were one notable example.

FIG. 5—Original Swan River colony reserve (later called North colony), as of August 1, 1907. Area within stippled boundary, original Doukhobor reserve set aside in 1898; 1, homesteads entered for by non-Doukhobors after all Doukhobors had been accommodated; 2, homesteads entered for by Independent Doukhobors; 3, land held in trust by Dominion government for the use of communistic (village) Doukhobors, on the basis of 15 acres per soul. Such land had to be within 3 miles of a village. It was all gradually withdrawn and granted as homesteads to Independent Doukhobors or to others; 4, former Doukhobor homesteads which up to August 1, 1907, had not been disposed of. Most became either 1 or 2 (see also caption Figure 6). Location: Tps. 33-36, R. 30, 31, W. of 1st meridian.

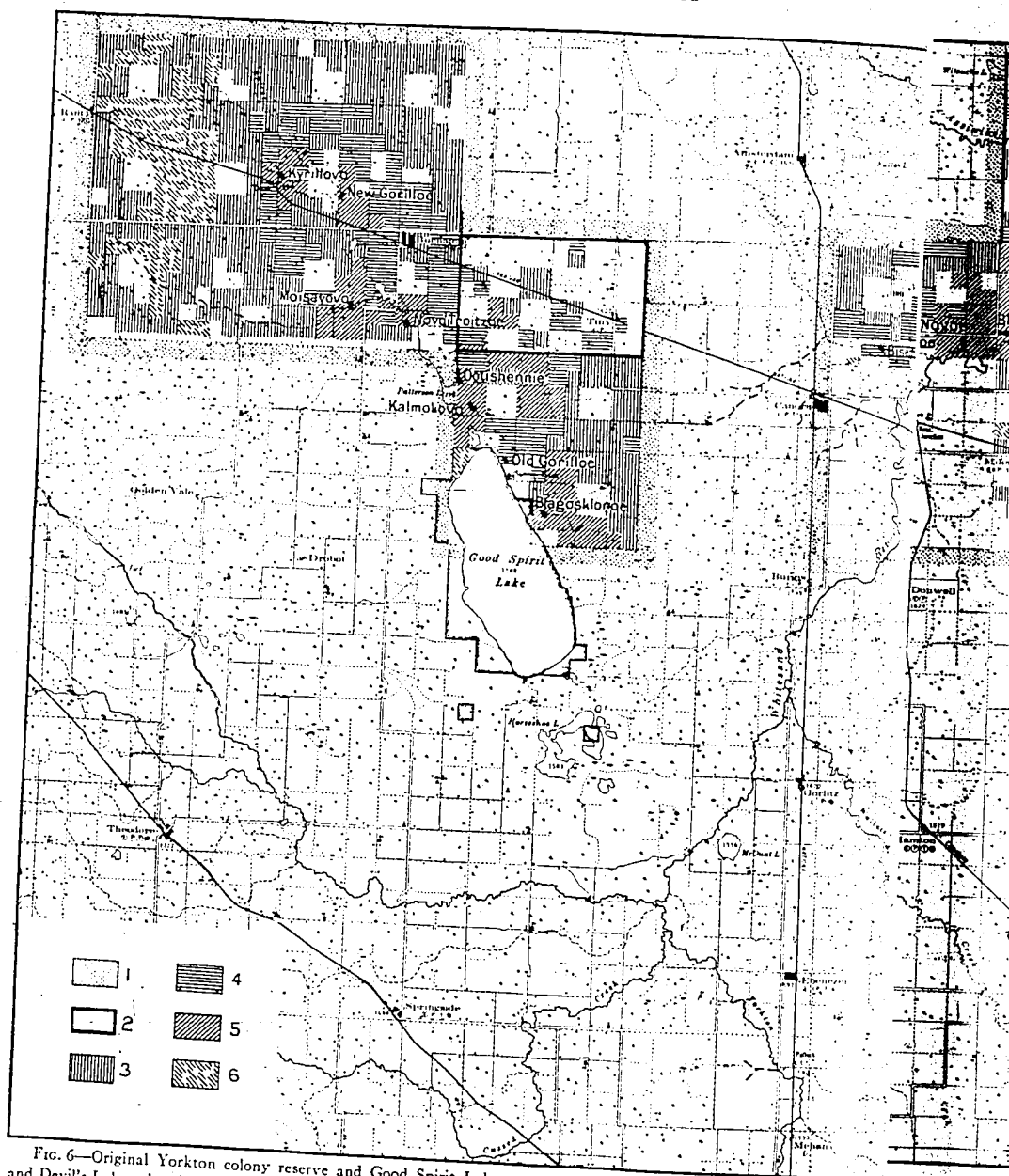
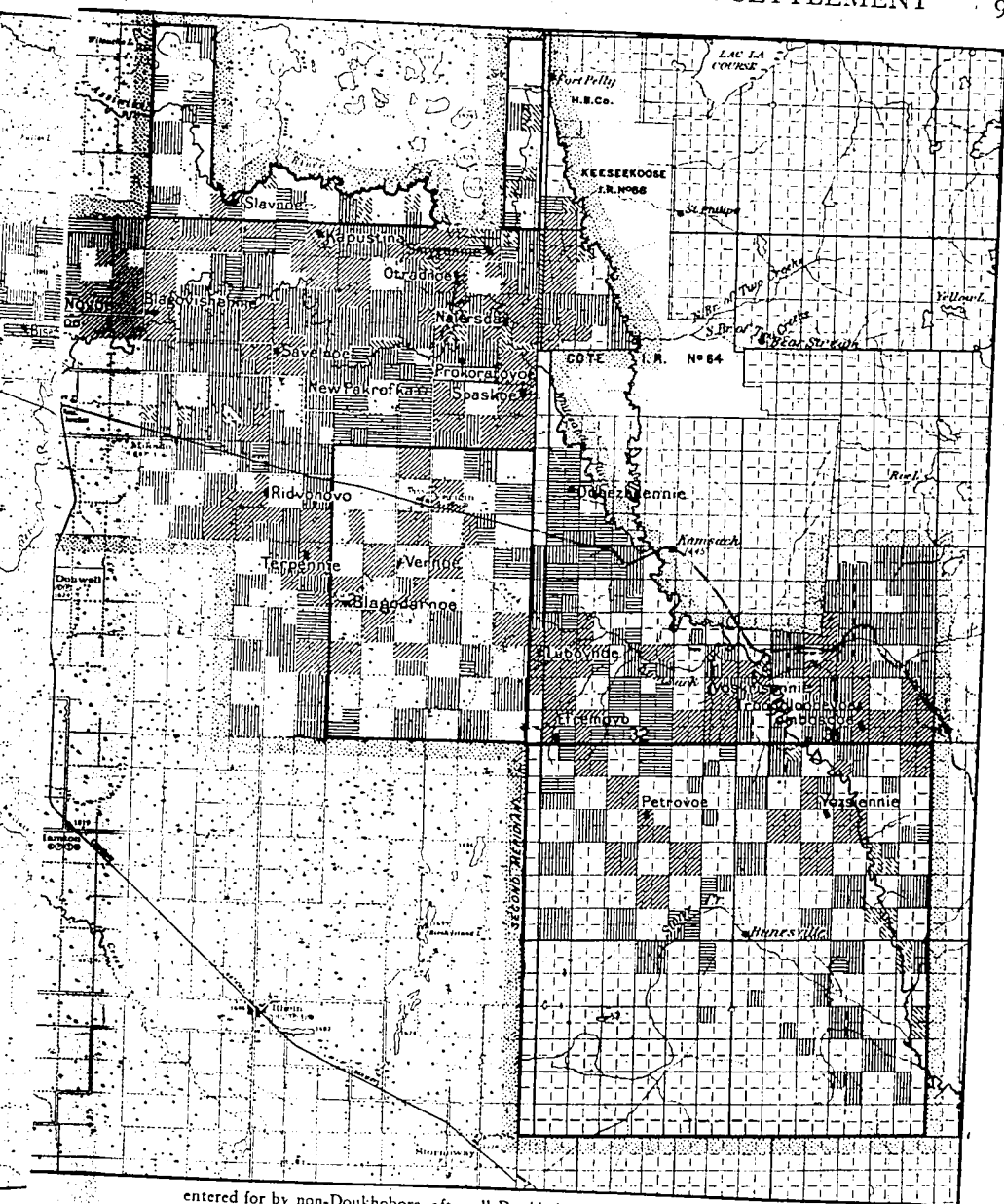


FIG. 6—Original Yorkton colony reserve and Good Spirit Lake annex (later called South colony and Devil's Lake colony), as of August 1, 1907. All land marked by ruling was, at one time, taken up, in form at least, by a Doukhobor as a homestead. For the most part, these were proxy-entries made by Peter Verigin and his associates for Community members, who knew nothing of the exact location of their land. Key: 1, area within stippled boundary, original Doukhobor reserve set aside in 1898; 2, areas within which only even-numbered sections were reserved for Doukhobor entry; 3, homesteads

BEGINNING OF DOUKHOBOR SETTLEMENT 9



entered for by non-Doukhobors, after all Doukhobors had been accommodated; 4, homesteads entered for by Independent Doukhobors; 5, land held in trust by Dominion government for the use of communistic (village) Doukhobors on the basis of 15 acres per soul; 6, former Doukhobor homesteads which up to August 1, 1907, had not been disposed of. Most became either 3 or 4. Doukhobor villages (rectangles) existed in 1907, but all but one or two have now disappeared. The railways shown are of more recent date than 1907. Location: Tps. 28-32, R. 1-7, W. of 2nd, R. 30, 31, W. of 1st meridian.

TIGHT BINDING

From the point of view of transportation and distance from existing settlement, it seemed more feasible to reserve several districts for the 7,400 Doukhobors than to place them in a single large block containing approximately 500,000 acres. As the Doukhobors had lived in three provinces in Russia, the proposal to place them in a similar number of colonies in the Northwest met with their approval.

Two of these reserves were in the northeast corner of what was then Assiniboia Territory. The North colony (also called Thunder Hill colony) which was 70 miles from Yorkton, contained 6 townships (Fig. 5). The South colony with an annex called Devil's Lake colony, situated 30 miles from Yorkton, contained 15 townships (see Fig. 6). Yorkton, at the end of steel, on the north line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, served as a shipping and trade centre for the colonists placed in the two reserves. An arrangement was made between the government and the C.P.R. by which the latter exchanged its holdings in most of the area¹² for an equal number elsewhere in the fertile belt. This change enabled the Doukhobors to settle in compact communities rather than on alternate homestead sections. In the third reserve, the Saskatchewan colonies, which consisted of 20 townships 200 miles to the northwest in Saskatchewan Territory, only even-numbered sections were reserved for Doukhobors.¹³ While for a few years this was partially ignored and did not seem to affect the pattern of settlement in villages, it is reasonable to suppose that this method of reserving land was connected with the early inroads of secularism and the retreat of the Doukhobor Community from this Saskatchewan district. While the southern part of this reserve was within some 20 miles (northwest) of Saskatoon, the actual railway centre for the early years was Rosthern on the Prince Albert line of the C.P.R., 25 miles to the east.

The more important Doukhobor colonies were in the Assiniboia Territory. They were situated between the Prairie Plains and the Park Belt (compare Figs. 2 and 3). Thus while the southern portion was dotted with willow bluffs it was essentially open prairie with the dark clay loams typical of that area. The immediate

¹² Under the land system in Manitoba and the North West Territories, railway companies were given alternate sections of land. This permitted every other section along the railways to be thrown open for homesteading, except for the minor grants of land to the Hudson's Bay Company, and the lands set aside for school purposes (see Volume II of this Series, Part II).

¹³ These colonies had two divisions, known as the Duck Lake (later Blaine Lake) and Saskatoon settlements.

BEGINNING OF DOUKHOBOR SETTLEMENT 11

vicinity of the present village of Verigin with its layer of black loam is comparable to the best soils in Saskatchewan, and the district has never suffered a general crop failure. This district, with its undulating topography, extends north into the Swan River valley where native poplars, spruce, and jack pine indicate the lighter transitional soils of the park belt.

The original Saskatchewan River colony of Blaine Lake is in the Park Belt and some timber was indigenous. Its excellent soil has made this district one of the best wheat and mixed farming areas in the province. Both areas enjoy more than average precipitation, but dry-farming practices have been very much in evidence.

3. *Population Structure*

A predominance of males which characterizes so many frontier districts was not a feature of the Doukhobor colonies in Western Canada. The presence of a small surplus of adult females is explained by the fact that a number of young Doukhobors were detained in Russian prisons, in exile, or else serving in the Russian army. While the family was the typical unit of migration there was a relatively small proportion of children under five years of age. The first of the four Doukhobor shiploads which arrived in 1899, comprised 2,082 immigrants. This total included 629 men, 673 women, and 780 children. Most of the adults were under forty years of age and most of the children were over five years.¹⁴ The only other data available as to age and sex groups are those reported for the fourth ship-load of 2,278 Doukhobors which included 1,540 adults and 738 children. The children in these two shiploads comprised 1,518 persons, or 34.9 per cent. of the total.¹⁵ The later migration of a few hundred men, who were released from Russian prisons, tended to balance the sex ratio in the Doukhobor settlements.

4. *Doukhobor Village System with its Communistic Organization*

Within a few months after their migration to Canada the Doukhobors had settled in farm villages. The basic distribution of the people was thereby completed and only time was needed to give permanence and stability to a system which had been transplanted.

¹⁴ J. S. Elkinton, *The Doukhobors* (Philadelphia: 1903), pp. 194 and 204. According to the above classification, children presumably included all persons under 20 years of age.

¹⁵ By way of comparison it may be stated that in 1931 the total persons under 20 years of age in Canada comprised 41.6 per cent. of the total population (*Census of Canada, 1931*, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Vol. II. T. 23).

from Russia. The size and location of these villages as they existed at the close of 1899 is given in Table I. They were occupied either by Community Doukhobors, by Independents, or by both until 1908, when the refusal of the Doukhobors to qualify for patents on individual homesteads resulted in withdrawal of their monopoly over the Reserves and led to a mass migration of Doukhobors to the province of British Columbia.

There was much confusion and uncertainty in the Doukhobor villages during the three years preceding the arrival of their leader, Peter Verigin, who was one of those Doukhobors detained in

TABLE I—SIZE AND LOCATION OF 57 DOUKHOBOR VILLAGES IN
• WESTERN CANADA, 1899*

COLONY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER VILLAGE
Thunder Hill.....	13	1,404	108
Devil's Lake.....	34	4,478	181
Saskatchewan.....	10	1,472	147
All Groups.....	57	7,354	129

* Only four additional villages were built after 1899.

Russian prisons. The Doukhobors were troubled about the advisability of pooling the results of their labour and of distributing goods on a communistic basis. As a matter of fact some form of close coöperation was necessary, for the poverty of the people made them dependent upon loans and gifts of food and other supplies during the first two years on the Canadian prairies.¹⁶

¹⁶ The 2,300 Doukhobors from Kars Colony in Russia paid their own transportation costs to Canada. The remaining 5,100 Doukhobors had \$23,000 set aside in a common immigration fund. Various sums, totalling \$34,500, were contributed towards their journey to Canada by Count Leo Tolstoy, members of the Purleigh Colony, Essex, England, and by the English Society of Friends (*The Message of the Doukhobors*, edited by Alexander M. Evalenko (New York: 1913), pp. 132-133.) The C.P.R. reduced the adult fare from St. John to Winnipeg from \$16 to \$6. This meant a saving of probably \$50,000 to the Doukhobors. After their arrival at Winnipeg, the Dominion Government set aside a bonus of £1 for each man, woman, and child, the money to be used for food, shelter, and equipment for the immigrants. The total bonus, paid on 7,363 Doukhobors, was \$35,832.78. A further government grant of \$20,000 was later made to the Doukhobor fund (see *Debates of the House of Commons, Canada*, March 25, 1901, p. 1988.) The Canadian Government's direct assistance likewise included free use of government immigration halls for several months during 1899. The government also paid the full expenses of Aylmer Maude, Prince Hillkoff, Ivin, Mahortoff, and Professor Mavor, during the time they devoted to the Doukhobor migration. The Philadelphia Quakers forwarded supplies valued at \$30,000 to the Doukhobor Reserves during the winter of 1899-1900 (Memorandum of Commissioner of Immigration, J. Obed Smith, May 30, 1903). Unspecified amounts were given by several private benefactors. A total of \$150,000 from private and public sources would probably be a conservative estimate of the assistance given the Doukhobors during and after their migration to Canada.

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A voluntary Doukhobor Committee with members of the Department of the Interior as its active members met periodically in Winnipeg at the time of the Doukhobor migration, and for a year or two afterward. It is not surprising that the non-Doukhobor administrators of these funds saw the needs of one indigent Doukhobor much like those of another, and at all events not related to his farming ability or to the fertility of the land in the new colonies. The presence of a large number of dependent widows and children in the villages was a further reason for equitable distribution of supplies.

TABLE II—SYSTEMS OF PROPERTY-HOLDING AMONG THE ASSINIBOIA DOUKHOBOR VILLAGES IN 1901*

COLONY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	COMMUNISTIC (production and distribution)	COMMUNISTIC (divided into more than one commune)	PARTLY COMMUNISTIC AND PARTLY INDIVIDUALISTIC	INDIVIDUALISTIC
Thunder Hill	13	9	1	2	1
South colony	24	12	3	8	1
Devils' Lake	10	..	..	5	5
Assiniboia Reserves	47	21	4	15	7

* Data from a report of May 15, 1901, to the Department of the Interior, Ottawa, by John Ashworth, an English Quaker who had made a survey of most of the Doukhobor villages (unpublished documents of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa).

It is important to keep in mind that communism was not practised among the Doukhobors at the time of their migration to Canada. To them it was an ideal, developed in an earlier period, which had been brought to the fore in the religious revival of 1893. But its practical attainment was not possible until the sect escaped from Russian persecution and until the exiled leader rejoined his people.

Table II gives some indication of the various degrees of communism which prevailed in the Doukhobor colonies before Peter Verigin's arrival. These data apply only to villages in what were known as the Assiniboia Reserves, for the relatively well-to-do settlers in the Saskatchewan Reserve did not practise communism at any time.¹⁷

Only remnants are left of the first Doukhobor villages in Western

¹⁷ The Doukhobors in this Saskatchewan colony came from the Kars Settlement, one of three Doukhobor colonies in the most southern part of Russia.

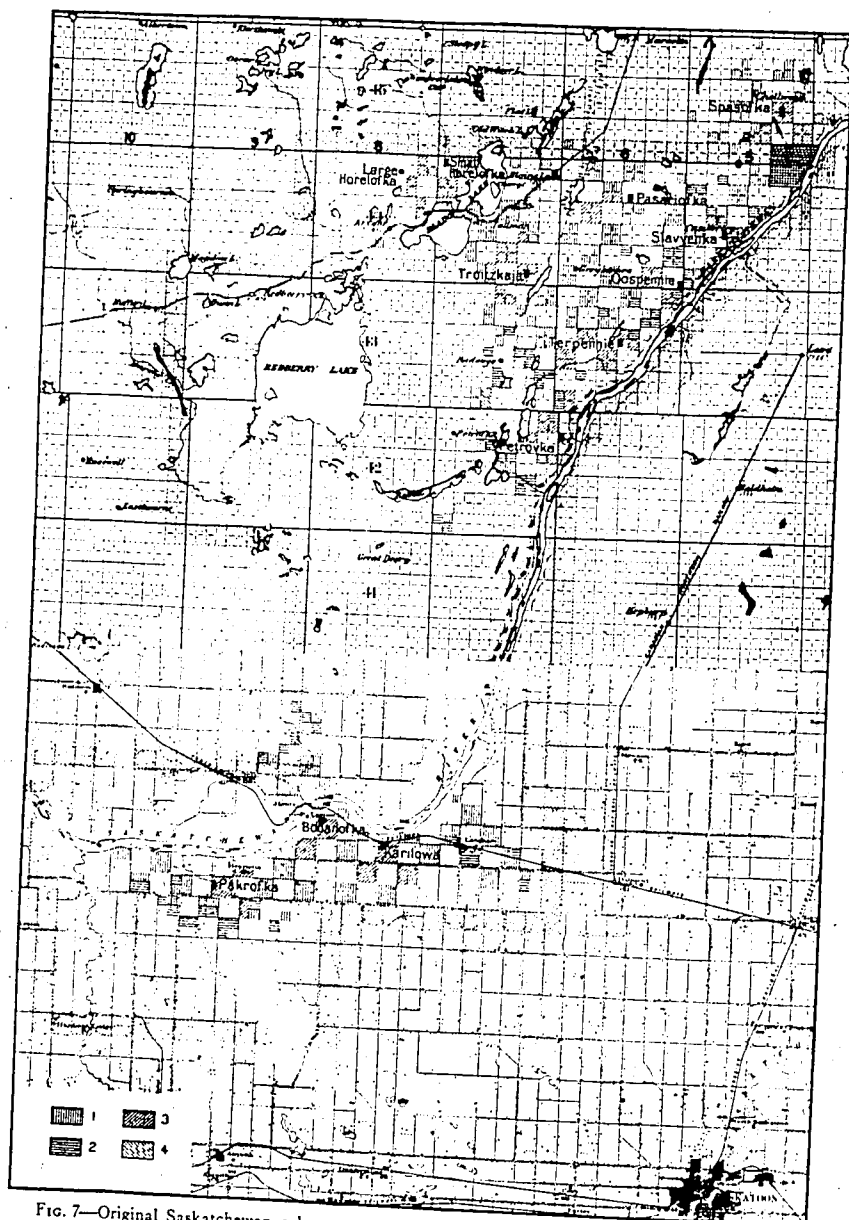


FIG. 7—Original Saskatchewan colony reserve (later called Blaine Lake and Saskatoon colonies), as of August 1, 1907. All land marked by ruling was, at one time, taken up, in form at least, by a Doukhobor as a homestead. For the most part, these were proxy-entries made by Peter Verigin and his associates for Community members, who knew nothing of the exact location of their land. Key: 1, area within stippled boundary, original Doukhobor reserve set aside in 1898; 2, areas within which only even-numbered sections were reserved for Doukhobor entry; 3, homesteads entered (Continued on next page)

Canada, and one must refer to historical accounts to discover their characteristics.¹⁸

These new-world prairie villages were similar to those occupied by peasants in Russia. From 12 to 20 dwellings, one or two storeys high, were arranged in regular lines on either side of a broad street.¹⁹ Each house had its own grounds, trees, and a garden. One or two large barns, which served the whole village, were built back of the row of houses near a creek or other source of water supply. Building materials varied according to the locality: log buildings were common at Thunder Hill colony, sod and clay houses were built in South colony, and the same was true of the Saskatchewan colony. When the resources of the community developed, many of the old buildings were replaced by brick and lumber ones. Other buildings, apart from houses and barns, were few. Some villages had a meeting house, though in most cases any large building served for this purpose. Temporary warehouses were probably built during the early years, and certain villages, as for example, Thunder Hill, had a portable saw-mill. There were no retail stores and neither public nor private school buildings.²⁰

The villages were spaced from 2 to 4 miles apart and located so as to give ready access to the surrounding farm land. In most communistic villages the fields were worked in common and farming was done on a coöperative basis even where communism was not the ruling principle.²¹ Members of both sexes and all but the youngest children helped with the farm work. Adults worked in the fields with such animals and implements as they could obtain, while the children herded cattle on the unfenced prairie.

5. *Extent of Doukhobor Self-Sufficiency*

The extent to which Peter Verigin centralized the business of the Doukhobors, and the way in which their economic life advanced during the first year of his administration, are shown in the accounts

¹⁸ One such remnant is found in the village of Vernoe, two miles south of Verigin, Saskatchewan.

¹⁹ For comparison see Chapter VI, for a description of the Mennonite villages (see also Fig. 11).

²⁰ Russian language schools, promoted by benevolent Quakers, were conducted for a year or two in make-shift quarters.

²¹ James Mavor, "Report to H. M. Board of Trade on the Northwest of Canada," *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1904, Cd. 2628, p. 16.

for by non-Doukhobors, after all Doukhobors had been accommodated; 4, homesteads entered for by Independent Doukhobors. Doukhobor villages (rectangles) existed in 1907, but all but one or two have now disappeared. Location: Tps. 38-45, R. 5-10, W. of 3rd meridian.

of the Doukhobor Community for 1903. Total expenses for that year were \$215,544. Total receipts, paid in through the village organizations and comprising only wages and remuneration of labourers outside the Community, were \$152,474. A deficit of \$63,071 was held mostly in the form of credit from Winnipeg stores and was to be paid off in the course of 1904 without interest. Some principal items of expenditure were: \$37,672 for 370 head of horses; \$43,794 for machinery and upkeep; \$36,250 for land; \$9,720 for wheat, oats, and flour; \$13,445 for leather to make harness and shoes; \$13,770 for "some living of all 47 villages"²² (see Appendix Table I ff).

TABLE III—GRAIN PRODUCTION FOR THE DOUKHOBOR COMMUNITIES, 1904

COLONY	WHEAT (bushels)	OATS (bushels)	BARLEY (bushels)	FLAX (bushels)
Thunder Hill.....	17,085	16,569	10,673	975
South colony.....	40,261	49,948	23,396	3,584
Devil's Lake.....	10,317	12,131	5,646	895
Assiniboia Reserves.....	67,663	78,648	39,715	5,454

It will be apparent from these sample figures for 1903 that the Doukhobors collectively were anything but independent of the world about them. Even in the following year, 1904, Peter reported: "We have sold no wheat at all, even we have bought some grain."²³

Yet there were many factors which made the Doukhobor Communities relatively independent of the outside world. The prevalence of handicrafts among the people increased their self-sufficiency. The women made garments, rugs, hangings, etc., from homespun fabrics; the men made furniture, boots and shoes, harness, horse-shoes, and tools of various kind.²⁴ This domestic manufacture, while not yet extinct among the Doukhobors; is not practised as much today as formerly.

²² Statistics are from "An Account of Receipts and Expenditures of Year 1903, Doukhobor Community in Canada", enclosed by Peter Verigin with a letter dated February 19, 1904 to J. Obed Smith, Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg (unpublished documents of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa).

²³ Letter from Peter Verigin to J. Obed Smith, January 17, 1905 (from files of Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa. See Appendix, pp. 385).

²⁴ During their stay in government immigration halls during the early months of 1899, the blacksmiths and other craftsmen among the Doukhobors made a good supply of spades, forges, wagon-tires, and harness. (James Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World* (London and Toronto: 1923), Vol. II, pp. 15-16.)

Most of the contacts with the outside world were confined to the leader and his associates and had therefore little direct significance for the members of the sect. These contacts included negotiations and legal arrangements respecting land, including applications for homesteads and payment of taxes.

The wants of the Doukhobors were few in regard to specialized services. They had their own midwives, bone-setters, and dentists who attended to the needs of the people. Religious services and all recreation were provided by members of the sect, for professional clergy and outside entertainers found no welcome in their communities.

The women's role in maintaining isolation from the world is significant. They did not go outside the Doukhobor communities, and had no occasion to learn the English language or Canadian customs. Their faith and reverence for Peter Verigin was unbounded, and this loyalty to the leader together with fear of the chaos outside of Doukhoborism made them strong factors in the preservation of the sect. Because of their wives' influence many of the men remained within the communistic system when their own judgment would have led them to farm for themselves, even at the risk of excommunication from the sect.

The above-mentioned factors of social isolation were supported by both physical and cultural barriers. It has been stated in an earlier section that at the time of settlement the Doukhobor reserves were 25 to 30 miles from the nearest railway, and non-Doukhobor settlements were equally remote. In the course of 5 or 6 years, however, the railway entered the reserves immediately north of Yorkton, while 10 or 12 years elapsed before "steel was laid" to some of the more distant colonies. Commercial villages with new population elements appeared after the entry of the railway, and in some cases they preceded it.

But in spite of the increasing number of contacts with outsiders, the Doukhobors were able to minimize the forces of secularization because the main aspects of their life during this early settlement period were subject to the group's own standards.

Sectarian zeal was at a high pitch in the colonies in Western Canada, for the migrants were those who clung most tenaciously to their sect's principles, or who had been in direct conflict with the authorities in Russia. Their enthusiasm, which at times amounted to fanaticism, was stirred time after time during the process of adjustment to their new environment. They soon

protested against the Canadian homestead laws, and were likewise opposed to the regulations governing registration of births and marriages.²⁵ Moreover, the severe Canadian winters were a source of disappointment, since they had hoped to settle in a country where the climate made fruit and vegetable growing possible. Much of this discontent was exploited by agitators who visited the colonies during the early years. Chief among them was Alexander Bodyansky, an educated non-Doukhobor Russian who attempted to move several hundred Doukhobors to California, and at another time tried to bring about a Doukhobor emigration to Australia.²⁶ He was also instrumental in forwarding two elaborate petitions to the Dominion Government protesting against the homestead system, and the marriage and registration laws. Finally he helped to circulate an appeal to all nations for protection of Doukhobors against Canadian tyranny.

No sooner had Bodyansky left Canada in 1901 than another unsettling factor was introduced to the people. The outstanding consideration in understanding the events of the first four years of the Canadian Doukhobor settlement was the absence of a leader who could command more than a neighbourhood following. In Russia they had been accustomed to look to Peter Verigin for leadership. Many of them regarded him as a re-incarnation of Christ, while others believed him to be at least divinely inspired. It was these beliefs that reconciled the cardinal tenets of their religion—the discard of man-made laws and authorities in favour of an “inner voice” reflecting the “laws of Christ”—with complete though unadmitted submission to an autocratic leader.

Though absent from his people for over 15 years, Verigin exerted considerable influence over them through his letters. He appears to have written two distinct types: (1) those to his followers, which were of a practical nature, and (2) those to Tolstoyans, Quakers, and other sympathizers in which he theorized about a simple life and the practice of non-resistance. A collection of letters of the second type had been printed in Russian²⁷ and some copies of the

²⁵ The Doukhobors' attitude toward vital statistics regulations is closely connected with their refusal to do military service. They feared that such official information might at some time be used as a basis for conscripting their young men into the Canadian army.

²⁶ Alexander Bodyansky was a Russian anarchist, so eccentric that he had not found favour with the Tolstoyan Colony at Purleigh, Essex, during a brief sojourn there prior to his arrival in Canada in 1900. He knew little about living conditions on the western prairies, but he learned very quickly that the Doukhobors objected to some of the Canadian government regulations, and this was enough to lead him to espouse their cause.

²⁷ *The Letters of the Doukhobor Leader Peter Vasilievich Verigin* (Christchurch, Hants, England: Free Age Press, 1901).

volume reached the Doukhobors in Canada. In these letters Verigin condemned the use of clothing and of metal articles, the keeping of horses and cattle, and even the cultivation of land. The reading of these letters resulted in a noticeable tendency toward fanaticism among the already perplexed Doukhobors.²⁸ A few of them went from village to village spreading their leader's idealistic philosophy, with the result that some of the people in the South Colony decided to exploit their animals no longer and turned them loose on the prairie.²⁹ About the end of October, 1902, some 1,800 men, women, and children left their homes in the South colony and marched towards Winnipeg. The object of the pilgrimage was variously stated to be the seeking of a warmer climate and a meeting with the "Messiah", by whom they possible meant Verigin.³⁰

This spectacular move was not a surprise to government agents who had closely observed the colonies all summer, but they decided not to use force, if other means of stopping the pilgrimage could be found. However, they did not permit the women and girls, a total of 1,060 people, to continue beyond Yorkton. But several hundred men and boys, many without shoes or caps, marched on for two weeks longer until they had travelled some 150 miles, or more than half the distance between Yorkton and Winnipeg. Many of them suffered from exposure and privation when they reached Minnedosa, Manitoba, where Mounted Police forcibly placed them on a special train and escorted them back to Yorkton and their home villages.

The publicity attending these Doukhobor petitions and demonstrations intensified the self-consciousness of the sect, and all Doukhobors, whether they had joined the pilgrimage or not, felt that their distinctiveness was enhanced by it. Verigin was perhaps not altogether displeased at his people's display of zeal, but he found it necessary to give their energies a more practical turn in building up their communities.

Sectarian sentiments dominated every phase of community life during these early years. In many villages the people chanted psalms and prayers as they walked from the fields to their homes.

²⁸ *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1902* (Ottawa: King's Printer), p. 109.

²⁹ The Mounted Police rounded up 120 horses, 285 head of cattle, and 85 sheep. The animals were sold at auction under government supervision and the proceeds, \$16,024.25, were placed in a trust fund to defray any special expense in connection with work among the Doukhobors.

³⁰ Two months after this event Verigin landed in Canada and it has been suggested that the pilgrims had learned of his release from Siberia which occurred some time earlier (Maude, *op. cit.*, p. 228).

Sacred songs were sung at meetings called to determine a matter of farm or village policy. Formal education in either the Russian or the English language was studiously avoided.³¹ These attitudes on religion and education together with the Doukhobors' language and whole mode of living marked them as a people who were very different from other settlers on the Canadian prairies.

³¹ The majority of the Doukhobors were indifferent, if not actually hostile, to the private schools which benevolent Quakers tried to establish among them, and a similar attitude was taken toward the first public schools established by the provincial government (unpublished documents of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa).

CHAPTER II

INVASION AND SUCCESSION

THESE isolated Doukhobor Communities of the first ten years were not unharassed sectarian islands, because from the outset the seeds of secularization were implanted in the colonies. Nearly every young or middle-aged man worked for one or more seasons outside the Community and in the course of this experience was able to observe certain attributes of Canadian life. After a few years the railways, which Doukhobor labourers helped to construct, brought in land seekers and speculators, and their coming led to the development of commercial towns and secular institutions. New settlers forced a decision from the government in the interpretation and enforcement of land laws. All these factors brought about the dispersion of farm villages. New homesteaders of many races were set down alongside and interspaced amongst the Doukhobors. Then as remaining members of the sect sought fresh isolation in British Columbia, they were replaced by new settlers.

1. Community Participation in the Labour Market

For twenty years preceding the World War, employment on the Canadian prairies, especially manual employment, was readily procurable at high wages. That this condition could continue in spite of the arrival of hundreds of thousands of immigrants every year is understood in the light of the free-land policy of the government. Many a homesteader worked part of the year at some job which would give him cash for his maintenance and the improvement of his land, and in a short time he was able to pass from the wage-earning class to that of a landowner.

The motives which sent hundreds of Doukhobor men to outside labour markets from the very first year, were similar to those affecting individual homesteaders. But this communistic group had an advantage over individuals who could not work on their own land and hold a job at the same time. Always a skeleton force of men, helped by the women and the young people, carried on the work on the Doukhobor reserves, while the majority of men

were away working for indispensable sums of cash. At the same time the latter group was becoming cognizant of Canadian manners and interpreting them to the Community. Appreciable numbers of these men failed to return permanently to the Doukhobor reserves.

The effect of these contacts, made through outside work, varied according to the nature and circumstances of the work. For example, a single man working for a non-Doukhobor farmer as a hired man was sometimes accepted as one of the household; his reactions, including the rapidity and thoroughness with which he acquired English, were very different from those of a Doukhobor who, even though he had worked out year after year, always found himself in a group of fellow Doukhobors, with whom he wielded his shovel or drove his team, and ate his vegetarian meal.

For more specific details, reference is made to the outside work experience of four men. Three of these had worked on railway gangs for periods of ten years and as far away from home as Fort Francis, Ontario. One Wasyl Fofenoff of the Verigin Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, had spent a summer on a Canadian farm and had acquired a halting but serviceable knowledge of English. One Paul Faminoff, 67 years of age, of the Lundbreck C.C.U.B., had herded sheep in Alberta during the World War. George Vorobioff, a staunch Independent from Verigin, Saskatchewan, had lived entirely within the Community until 1912, after which he had worked for Independent Doukhobor farmers.

John Sherbinin and Harry Veraschagin, leading figures in the British Columbia Community, had both had employment which resulted in their learning English during the early Saskatchewan period. Sherbinin had spent several seasons in a store at Swan River. Veraschagin did not learn English until he worked in the roundhouse at Moose Jaw, although he had previously spent three years as a section hand at Elkhorn, Manitoba, along with other Doukhobors.

Other experiences, such as the contacts with foremen, superintendents, general money transactions, and journeys to town, also left an impress on their minds. In the following passage written by a Doukhobor we have an instance of acquired smartness:

Vassili Potapoff who held charge during the whole time of our communal life in Saskatchewan of our coöperative stores at Station Verigin and handled textile goods and agricultural implements. . . . made contacts with numerous acquaintances among the native people of Canada, and observed their ways

and customs. While continuing his residence in the Community, he secretly negotiated, through his handymen, for the purchase from the Government of some of the land which was part of the proposed townsite of Verigin. He owns this land now and has built an expensive store on it. Potapoff managed to wheedle out twice his lawful share from the Community.¹

It is to be noted that while many of the men whose wages were calculated to build up the resources of the Community turned in



FIG. 8—Independent Doukhobors farming near Verigin, Saskatchewan. These people belong to the "Named Doukhobors" who acknowledge the religious leadership of Peter Verigin.

their entire earnings, others kept back some of the money for their own private purposes. In fact the Community's system of collection has been revised several times, in order to check the "honesty" of the members and to remove temptations to follow irregular practices. When moral suasion seemed to fail, quota systems and adjustments of the communal units were introduced (see section 5 of this chapter). Meanwhile the number of Independents² continued to grow at the expense of the Community group.

Changes in clothing styles have resulted in part from the contacts of Doukhobor labourers in non-Doukhobor communities. The

¹ *The Message of the Doukhobors*, edited by A. M. Evalenko (New York: 1913), p. 60.

² "Independent" is the term applied to those Doukhobors who have chosen to farm on an individual basis, though they may not have given up the general religious beliefs of the sect.

men wear the conventional Canadian clothes and have done so ever since they wore out the clothes which they had on their backs when they disembarked. Since most of them were general labourers from the first or second season, they found that, by adopting Canadian styles, they avoided much of the ridicule of non-Doukhobors. This was the testimony of many of the older men who were interviewed in 1932 and photographs from earlier books substantiate it. The Doukhobor women, especially those of the Community, still wear distinctive clothing, particularly for special occasions. This usually consists of blouses and long, full skirts, numerous petticoats, and a shawl-like head covering called the *platoke*. In recent years patterns and bright colours have replaced sober hues in materials. The once close-cropped hair which was hidden beneath the *platoke* is now allowed to grow longer and is only partially concealed by tams and toques which are being worn more frequently. Simple jewellery, such as brooches, is now worn.

Peter Verigin and those of his followers interested in the perpetuation of the Doukhobor Community realized the disintegrating effects of contacts with outsiders. It was the policy in the first period on the prairie to develop the lands so as to provide employment as soon as possible for all available men within the Community. In other words, they strove to make the Doukhobors self-supporting communistic farmers. But just as this ideal was becoming the prevailing policy of the Community, the migration of nearly 6,000 Doukhobors to British Columbia once more necessitated the sending of able-bodied men to outside labour markets.³

However, a great deal of attention was given in British Columbia to the clearing of the forest in order to prepare the land for cultivation. Some revenue was obtained through the sale of forest products such as lumber, poles, posts, and cordwood. In this way many Doukhobors obtained work within the Community. There were others, both men and women, who worked for neighbouring farmers and ranchers. But the latter type of work was performed in gangs and in any case it involved only a brief time away from the Community. It follows that in the British Columbia colonies contacts with Canadians were limited and Doukhobor ways were therefore only slightly modified by them.

³ See section 5 of this chapter for details of British Columbia migration.

2. *Coming of the Railway and the Commercial Village*

If the approach of the railway meant opportunity for the men of the Community to earn good wages, it also facilitated the intrusion of new people and a strange culture into the heart of the Community. There ensued a rearrangement of population and services, involving a complete change in the established Doukhobor system.

The years during which the more important railway lines were opened are as follows:

Kamsack-Verigin (South colony) - - - - -	1903
Canadian Northern Railway—main line	
Buchanan (Devil's Lake) - - - - -	1904
Canadian Northern Railway—main line	
Langham (Saskatchewan colony) - - - - -	1905
Canadian Northern Railway—main line	
Pelly-Arran-Benito (Thunder Hill) - - - - -	1911
Canadian Northern Railway—branch from Swan River	
Blaine Lake (Saskatchewan colony) - - - - -	1912
Canadian Northern Railway—North Battleford-Prince Albert branch	

New railway lines resulted in the passing of the trade and shipping dominance of such centres as Yorkton with reference to the Doukhobor colonies. Mail orders of the Doukhobor Community had been placed chiefly in Winnipeg, and only the completion of the Canadian Northern through the South colony in 1903 was required to switch the traffic to the new line. The administrative centre for all the colonies, that is, the home and office of Peter Verigin, had been in the village of Otradnoe, a typical Doukhobor Community village. The new railway passed about eight miles south of Otradnoe, but the pull of economic forces as against customary sectarian considerations is shown in the removal of the administrative machinery to the new commercial railway village of Verigin within a year. This town site was also within the reserve and the centre of a large Doukhobor population.

Verigin, as the home of the Doukhobor leader, became the capital of all the colonies.⁴ Today it is still the leading centre for all Doukhobors living on the prairies, although Community expansion is towards new centres in British Columbia. But as a strictly commercial village, Verigin is only one of several, in what, from the Doukhobor point of view, is now known as the Verigin district, for example, Runnymede, Coté, Kamsack, Mikado, and Canora. Buchanan is the one centre for its district. Along the railway

⁴ In 1931 Verigin had a population of 254.

these new Canadian towns have become centres of Doukhobor trade (limited as it was while the Community was strong) together with that of their new neighbours. In other localities, distant centres have given place to new railway towns in or near the reserves.

Thus, Swan River, twenty miles from the North colony reserve, has been displaced by Benito, Manitoba, and also to some extent by Pelly and Arran in Saskatchewan. Rosthern has lost its importance to the Doukhobors, while Blaine Lake, an early railway centre, has become the centre of trade and culture for the colony by the same name.

The extent to which the Doukhobors on the prairies have entered commercial or professional pursuits in Verigin, Canora, and Buchanan was studied by a field investigator in 1932. In Verigin, 11 out of 29 business or professional men were Doukhobors, in Canora, 1 out of 51, and in Buchanan, 3 out of 30.

A statistical analysis of racial and religious elements in typical urban centres has been deferred to section 4 of this chapter.

3. Governmental Reduction of the Doukhobor Reserves

Having settled less than thirty miles from the existing fringe of settlement in a region of rapidly expanding population, it was inevitable that the Doukhobors should find their reserves, which were virgin lands when they came, regarded year after year with increasing envy by other settlers. It has been indicated how the advent of the railway increased this pressure. Protected by their reserves and subsequently by homestead entries, the Doukhobors enjoyed a government-sponsored monopoly of nearly 500,000 acres of excellent prairie land until December 15, 1904.

Officials of the Department of the Interior were very much aware of the legal anomaly of the Doukhobor reserves. From the first it had been difficult to induce these people to legalize their right to the land set apart for them. The Doukhobors' determination to take little or no formal action in Canada without the advice of their exiled leader led them to procrastinate in entering claims for individual homesteads. They found ostensible justification for their attitude in their aversion to oaths and to worldly rulers, and in their apprehension lest they should commit themselves to army service. Writing a few years later one Doukhobor said:

In migrating here in British Columbia, we assumed that the Government would not disturb us any more with their different regulations since we declined

swearing allegiance on the strength of the teaching of Christ and bore severe punishment therefor.

Being of Russian birth we yet dwell in our own community and consider ourselves citizens of the entire earthly globe and therefore we cannot regard our residence in British Columbia as fixed for all time.

Upon migrating here to Saskatchewan, Canada, we lived for three years without claiming the land. We did not accept the land because we could not get the substance of the fundamental law and order of this country. Some men declared full liberty reigns supreme here, others asserted that here, as in Russia, as soon as the Doukhobors would accept their titles to the land allotted to them, they would have to swear allegiance to King Edward as well and to submit to all demands by his government.⁵

This situation appeared to be clarified by the arrival of Peter Verigin a few months later. He entered homestead application for more than 1,700 of his people in the various reserves and gave the impression that they would take the oath of allegiance as required by the *Dominion Lands Act*.⁶ This appeared to give the Doukhobors three more years in which to develop their farms while deferring their decision as to final acceptance of legal title. Such title would have meant separate grants of 160 acres to individual Doukhobors. Their leader, to the extent that he was able to stave off secession, was continuing group operation of all the land in accordance with his communistic principles. His experience with Doukhobors who had seceded during these few years and with those who wished to secede, made him very doubtful as to whether Doukhobors in general could be persuaded to place their individually-acquired homesteads at the disposal of the Community. We may thus understand his further delay on the homestead question and the rather decisive government action which resulted in 1906 and 1907.

Early in 1906 a survey of all villages and homesteads was made by the government, and it revealed that according to the *Dominion Lands Act* there was a number of serious irregularities in the performance of homestead duties. In fact no straightforward interpretation of the act could justify a transfer of the titles of many

⁵ *Message of the Doukhobors*, pp. 25-26, 46, 55.

⁶ All settlers who applied for a homestead under the *Dominion Lands Act* gave the impression that they would take the oath of allegiance on or before the expiration of three years. For a non-citizen an entry meant little if no such intention were implied. In the case of the Doukhobors, their reluctance in making entries had been defended on grounds of their opposition to oaths; the very act of entry by a responsible leader indicated capitulation on the issue. A report written in 1905, mentioned that "on April 16, 1903, 1,738 entries were made by the Committee of Doukhobors, viz., Peter Verigin, Simeon Reibin, Nicolai Zebroff, Paul Planetin, also Hugh Harley, and J. S. Crearar, agents of the Immigration Department at Yorkton and Swan River, respectively." Report of C. W. Speers, General Colonization Agent of the Department of the Interior to Hon. Frank Oliver, 1905 (from files of Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa).

homesteads to those listed as applicants. After a further report in the same year, the Department of the Interior decided: (1) to maintain entries of all Independents cultivating their own homesteads and living on them or in a village within three miles of them; (2) to cancel all other Doukhobor entries; (3) to allow 15 acres for each Doukhobor (man, woman, or child), who chose to remain within the communal system. In this allotment was included as much as possible of the cultivated land within three miles of the Doukhobor villages; (4) to hold all cancelled land for three months for exclusive Doukhobor re-entry, after which general entry would be permitted; (5) several minor provisions.⁷

Only 136 homesteads were found to be held by Independents, and even when the proposal to reduce the communal land to little more than 25 per cent. of its existing area was explained to the people, only 248 additional entries were made by Independents in the following year. Reserves on a new basis of 15 acres per person were provided for 8,175 declared communists, and 1,618 homesteads, or considerably more than half of the land formerly reserved for Community members, were made available to the general public.⁸

The commission which carried out these adjustments was maintained for ten years, during which time it visited the Doukhobor villages and saw to the transfer of Community reserves in the form of regular homesteads to newly-declared Independents, whose withdrawal from the commune thereby made 15 acres per person available for ordinary entry. Other communists were leaving their homes in Saskatchewan from time to time, so that there was always at least a minimum reserve for the continuing members. These reserves were finally discontinued in 1918. At that time the number of communists participating in them was much less than it had been in 1908. The Community owned and was working considerable land near the reserves,⁹ and as part of the disestablish-

⁷ Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, etc. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1908), pp. 10-11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁹ A government report (files of Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa) of September 7, 1905, said:

"Peter Verigin, the leader of the Community, has purchased a large quantity of land from a syndicate; this land has been paid for or is being paid for out of the general revenues of the Community. It is in his own name."

Writing in 1904, Professor Mavor (Mavor, James, Report to H.M. Board of Trade on the Northwest of Canada, *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1904, Cd. 2628), said:

"The total reserve area amounted to about 320,000 acres. Since 1899 additional lands have been purchased by the Doukhobors, so that at present their reserves approach 350,000 acres in all."

Ostensibly a quotation from M. W. Cazakoff, manager of the Saskatchewan branch of the C.C.U.B. for 25 years or more and still in that post at Verigin, the following statement was obtained in 1911:

"We have 13,000 acres in Saskatchewan, it being worth at least thirty dollars an acre, and the Society has now bought 15,000 in British Columbia" (A. E. Copping, *Canada To-day and To-morrow*, Toronto, 1911, p. 99).

ment of reserves it was permitted through its members to buy land at \$10 an acre.¹⁰ By this device the holdings of the C.C.U.B. near the village of Verigin were consolidated in one large block.

The gradual reduction and eventual discontinuance of the Doukhobor reserves were motivated by a combination of circumstances. The political influence and the economic pressure of the expanding neighbouring population found expression in the investigations and readjustments of 1906 and 1907. As soon as non-Doukhobor settlers were admitted in some numbers into the former reserves, the process of readjustment was cumulative. Three changes proceeded: (1) Doukhobors, "tainted by the world", continued to leave the Community from time to time,¹¹ and whether or not they moved immediately from the village, they contributed to a change in the nature of Doukhoborism in Canada; (2) the sectarian core became more and more discontented with its unstable dispersed conditions on the prairie, and, along with the concentration of Community people within Saskatchewan, carried out an important transplanting of a large section of its distinctive agricultural Community in British Columbia (see section 5 of this chapter); (3) armies of new settlers, homesteaders, and farmers, including many southeastern Europeans, invaded the erstwhile Doukhobor districts, and in some localities they succeeded Doukhobors when the latter migrated.

4. *Invasion of New Settlers*

Some of the changes in population elements in the Doukhobor colonies can be learned from a study of census data for the period 1901-1931. Two sample areas were chosen: (1) the Kamsack-Canora section which includes six municipalities in what at one time was the central part of the Assiniboia Reserves, and (2) Blaine Lake Municipality which forms the northern half of the old Blaine Lake colony near Rosthern (see Figs. 6 and 7).

Table IV shows population trends since 1901 for the rural parts of the above areas as well as for a few typical railway centres within them. In both areas the great influx occurred during the period of railway building, between 1901 and 1911.¹² Since then popu-

¹⁰ Order-in-Council No. P.C. 1658, July 6, 1918, *Canada Gazette*, July 27, 1918, p. 350.

¹¹ In 1912 the Doukhobor commune was made up of about 8,000 persons, in 1917 its membership was 5,800. See Trevor, H., *The Doukhobors in British Columbia*, (unpublished), prepared under the direction of the Faculty of Agriculture, University of British Columbia, 1931-32. Today there are not more than 4,500 members in the C.C.U.B.

¹² Doukhobors comprised most of the rural population in both sample areas until 1907, when a part of their reserves was released for homesteading by the general public (see footnote 14 of this chapter for further details).

lation growth has been much slower. But the trend is by no means regular, as is indicated by a *decrease* of 3.8 per cent. in 1916 for the Kamsack-Canora area, and by an *increase* of 30.5 per cent. in 1921 for the Blaine Lake colony. On the whole, greater variability is indicated for the Blaine Lake colony than for the Kamsack-Canora area.

TABLE IV—RURAL AND URBAN GROWTH IN THE DOUKHOBOR SETTLEMENTS, 1901-1931*

YEAR	KAMSACK-CANORA AREA †				BLAINE LAKE COLONY **			
	RURAL		URBAN		RURAL		URBAN	
	Number of Persons	Percentage Increase over Preceding Census	Number of Persons	Percentage Increase over Preceding Census	Number of Persons	Percentage Increase over Preceding Census	Number of Persons	Percentage Increase over Preceding Census
1901	6,660	....	.....	.....	553	...	...	....
1906	11,420	71.5	373	.....	1,656	199.5	...	....
1911	15,520	35.9	1,136	204.6	1,789	8.0	...	....
1916	14,925	-3.8	2,501	120.2	1,938	8.3	279	....
1921	16,241	8.8	3,892	55.6	2,529	30.5	334	19.7
1926	16,900	4.1	3,719	-4.5	2,927	15.7	460	37.7
1931	17,758	5.1	3,912	5.2	2,909	-0.6	572	24.4

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1906*, Table 1; *1916*, Table 4; *1926*, Table 20; *Census of Canada, 1921*, Table 16; *1931*, Bull. No. XX.

† Rural data include Coté (No. 271), Sliding Hills (No. 273), St. Philips (No. 301) Keyes (No. 303), Buchanan (No. 304), and Livingstone (No. 331) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

Urban data include Kamsack, Canora, Buchanan, and Verigin, Saskatchewan.

** Rural data include Blaine Lake (No. 434) Municipality, Saskatchewan.

Urban data include the town of Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan.

Figures were compiled for four railway centres in the Kamsack-Canora section and for one in the Blaine Lake colony. Canora and Kamsack were incorporated by 1906, Buchanan was listed by 1911, and Verigin and Blaine Lake by 1916. The early growth of these towns is related to the coming of the railway and the rapid influx of settlers to the surrounding rural districts. The decline of urban population, 1921-1926, in the Kamsack-Canora section can probably be explained by the post-war depression and the slowing-up of immigration to Canada. It is interesting to note in passing that Blaine Lake village, unlike the other four centres, shows steady growth since 1916.

GROWTH OF DOUKHOBOR SETTLEMENT

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The accompanying table shows only the *net* increase or decrease for five-year periods, but gives no indication of total migration to or from the sample areas. That this mobility was great, at least for the Doukhobors, is evidenced by the fact that nearly 6,000 of them moved to British Columbia between 1908 and 1912.¹³

TABLE V—SEX RATIOS FOR THE KAMSACK-CANORA AREA AND THE BLAINE LAKE COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN, COMPARED WITH THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN, 1901-1931*

(Number of Males per Hundred Females)

YEAR	PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN	KAMSACK-CANORA AREA†		BLAINE LAKE COLONY**	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1901.....	118	104	...	87	...
1906.....	146	109	...	108	...
1911.....	145	113	122	120	...
1916.....	128	117	106	118	125
1921.....	120	114	109	112	105
1926.....	119	112	102	115	101
1931.....	119	114	108	110	110

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1906, Table 1; 1916, Table 4; 1926, Table 20.*

Census of Canada, 1921, Table 16; 1931, Vol. II, Table 21.

† Rural data include Coté (No. 271), Sliding Hills (No. 273), St. Philips (No. 301), Keyes (No. 303), Buchanan (No. 304), and Livingstone (No. 331) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

Urban data include Kamsack, Canora, Buchanan, and Verigin, Saskatchewan.

** Rural data include Blaine Lake (No. 434) Municipality, Saskatchewan.

Urban data include the town of Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan.

A number of migrations also occurred among the prairie colonies. During the years 1904-1907 several hundred communistic Doukhobors moved from the Blaine Lake colony to Yorkton and Swan River.¹⁴

Sex-ratio trends for the two areas are compared with that for the province of Saskatchewan in Table V. The small surplus of males in 1901 and 1906 indicates the prevalence of family migration among the Doukhobors, as already mentioned in Chapter I. Blaine Lake colony had a surplus of females in 1901, a most unusual

¹³ The motivation of these migrations is further discussed in section 5 of this chapter.

¹⁴ Rapid influx of non-Doukhobor settlers is indicated by the fact that on June 1, 1907, a total of 1,618 quarter-sections, hitherto belonging to the Doukhobor reserves, were released by the Dominion Government for homestead entry by the general public. Applicants came from all over Western Canada to secure this land, and by August 1, 1907, over three-quarters of it had been taken. (Department of the Interior and Department of Immigration and Colonization: Papers relating to Doukhobor homestead entries, final report of commissioners, May 14, 1907, pp. 27-29.)

occurrence on Canadian rural frontiers. It was presumably due to the detention of some of the Doukhobor men in Russian prisons or in exile. Since 1911 a greater surplus of males is indicated for the rural areas, but it does not approximate that for Saskatchewan as a whole. The towns show the usual high surplus of males during the railway period, but within five years there is a marked tendency toward a balanced sex ratio. The figures for the last two census periods, as presented in Tables IV and V suggest that in the near future population growth will be slower and more steady than has been the case during the first two decades of this century.

In the two areas studied, changes in racial and religious composition form additional indices of mobility. They indicate some of the invasions and displacements which have taken place in areas that at the beginning of the century were occupied by Doukhobors alone.

Unfortunately, only the census data for 1921 and 1931 can be utilized for this analysis, because earlier compilations were prepared on geographical units, which are far too large, and whose boundaries are changed too frequently to serve the purpose of the present study.¹⁵ The present situation, however, is indicated from municipal data for the areas in which we are interested. The figures for main racial groups are shown in Table VI.

The Russians who are members of the Doukhobor sect are grouped separately, while all other Russians (i.e., non-Doukhobors) are included in the group called "Other Slavs".¹⁶

In 1931 the British were a minority group in the rural areas and their proportionate strength has declined from 13.2 to 8.8 per cent. in the Kamsack-Canora section, and from 16.3 to 14.0 per cent. in Blaine Lake colony over the decade 1921-1931. In urban areas, where they formed the largest group, their proportions are also declining, namely, from 44.0 to 39.6 per cent. in Kamsack-Canora, and from 54.8 to 42.0 per cent. in Blaine Lake colony.

¹⁵ The federal electoral districts were the basis of compilation for racial and religious data previous to 1911. These units included huge areas in the Prairie Provinces and they were subject to change after every federal representation act.

¹⁶ The group called "Other Slavs" includes non-Doukhobor Russians, Czecho-Slovaks, Poles and Ukrainians. The people who reported their racial origin as "Austrian" in 1921 are also added to this group, since a large proportion of these so-called "Austrians" spoke one of the Slavic languages as their mother tongue (see: *Origin, Birthplace, Nationality, and Language of the Canadian People: A Census Study Based on the Census of 1921 and Supplementary Data* prepared under the direction of W. Burton Hurd (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1929), pp. 13, 14.) By 1931, many Slavic immigrants formerly under Austro-Hungarian rule, were more nationalistic in outlook, and replied, "Ukrainian, Polish, etc." to the census enumerators' question on racial origin. The "Austrian" group in 1931 is therefore made up largely of people of Germanic origin. In Table VI this group was included under "Others".

The Doukhobors, too, are decreasing in proportionate strength, except in rural parts of Blaine Lake colony. In 1931 they comprised only 26.8 and 35.1 per cent. of the rural population in the Kamsack-Canora and Blaine Lake districts, respectively. The corresponding urban proportions are 11.2 and 10.8 per cent. Other Slavs have outnumbered them in the rural Kamsack-Canora section and in all towns studied here except in Verigin¹⁷ and Blaine Lake town. The remaining group classified as "Others",¹⁸ a minority group, shows proportionate decline in all but the rural Kamsack-Canora section.

Table VII which gives the religious distribution bears out the above trends for racial groups. The Doukhobor sect shows proportionate decreases everywhere but in rural parts of Blaine Lake district. The Roman Catholic group (which includes members of the Greek Church) shows the opposite trend, namely, proportionate increases everywhere, except in rural parts of Blaine Lake district.

Protestants are concentrated mainly in the urban areas, where they comprise about one-half of the total population. But they too, like the Doukhobors, are losing ground to the Roman Catholics, except in rural parts of Blaine Lake. In 1921, the Protestants comprised 23.1 and 28.4 per cent. of the rural population in the Kamsack-Canora district and Blaine Lake colony, while a decade later the corresponding proportions were 18.9 and 29.1 per cent. The group classified as "Other", is of little numerical significance, and was added merely to make the figures for sub-groups correspond with those for the total population. Summing up the inferences drawn from the two preceding tables, it seems clear that the non-Doukhobor Slavs are tending to outnumber all other ethnic groups, especially in the larger area of what was once the old Doukhobor reserves. Their present rate of increase further suggests that in a few decades they will outnumber the British both in Kamsack and the town of Blaine Lake, and that the time may not be far off when they will be the dominant group also in Verigin, hitherto a Doukhobor centre.

Only the numerical strength of the various racial and religious groups has been discussed in this section. To what extent the

¹⁷ In 1931, the total population of Verigin was 254, Doukhobors totalling 143, and other Slavs comprising 56 persons.

¹⁸ "Others" include French-Canadians, Germans, Scandinavians, and other racial groups which are of little numerical significance here.

ETHNIC GROUPS IN WESTERN CANADA

TABLE VI—PRINCIPAL ETHNIC ORIGINS FOR KAMSACK-CANORA AND BLAINE LAKE COLONIES, SASKATCHEWAN, 1921-1931*

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS	1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.
a. Kamsack-Canora Colony— Rural Areas†:				
Total Population.....	16,241	100.0	17,758	100.0
British.....	2,149	13.2	1,567	8.8
Doukhobors (Russians).....	4,562	28.1	4,754	26.8
Other Slavs.....	7,402	45.6	8,821	49.7
Others.....	2,128	13.1	2,516	14.7
b. Kamsack-Canora Colony— Urban Areas†:				
Total Population.....	3,892	100.0	3,912	100.0
British.....	1,711	44.0	1,551	39.6
Doukhobors (Russians).....	537	13.8	438	11.2
Other Slavs.....	683	17.5	1,216	31.1
Others.....	961	24.7	707	18.1
c. Blaine Lake Colony— Rural Area:**				
Total Population.....	2,529	100.0	2,909	100.0
British.....	412	16.3	406	14.0
Doukhobors (Russians).....	824	32.6	1,021	35.1
Other Slavs.....	670	26.5	899	30.9
Others.....	623	24.6	583	20.0
d. Blaine Lake Colony— Urban Area:**				
Total Population.....	334	100.0	572	100.0
British.....	183	54.8	240	42.0
Doukhobors (Russians).....	53	15.9	62	10.8
Other Slavs.....	23	6.9	191	33.4
Others.....	75	22.4	79	13.8

* *Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. I, Table 27; 1931, Bull. No. XXII.* Separate figures for the Doukhobors were obtained for 1921 and 1931, from unpublished data in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

† Rural data include Coté (No. 271), Sliding Hills (No. 273), St. Philips (No. 301), Keyes (No. 303), Buchanan (No. 304), and Livingstone (No. 331) Municipalities. Urban data include Kamsack, Canora, Buchanan, and Verigin, Saskatchewan.

** Rural data include Blaine Lake (No. 434) Municipality, Saskatchewan. Urban data include the town of Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan.

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TABLE VII—PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN KAMSACK-CANORA COLONY AND BLAINE LAKE COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN, 1921-1931*

RELIGIOUS GROUPS	1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.
a. Kamsack-Canora Colony—				
Rural Areas:†				
Total Population.....	16,241	100.0	17,758	100.0
Doukhorbor**.....	4,562	28.1	4,754	26.8
R.C. and Greek Church.....	7,260	44.7	9,387	52.9
Protestant.....	3,748	23.1	3,359	18.9
Other††.....	671	4.1	258	1.4
b. Kamsack-Canora Colony—				
Urban Areas:†				
Total Population.....	3,892	100.0	3,912	100.0
Doukhorbor.....	537	13.8	438	11.2
R.C. and Greek Church.....	813	20.9	1,262	32.3
Protestant.....	1,977	50.8	1,961	50.1
Other.....	565	14.5	251	6.4
c. Blaine Lake Colony—*				
Rural Area:***				
Total Population.....	2,529	100.0	2,909	100.0
Doukhorbor.....	824	32.6	1,021	35.1
R.C. and Greek Church.....	965	38.2	1,041	35.8
Protestant.....	719	28.4	846	29.1
Other.....	21	0.8	1	....
d. Blaine Lake Colony—				
Urban Area:***				
Total Population.....	334	100.0	572	100.0
Doukhorbor.....	53	15.9	62	10.8
R.C. and Greek Church.....	89	26.6	219	38.3
Protestant.....	178	53.3	277	48.4
Other.....	14	4.2	14	2.5

* *Census of Canada, 1921, Table 38; 1931, Bull. No. XXI.*

† Rural data include Côté (No. 271), Sliding Hills (No. 273), St. Philips (No. 301), Keyes (No. 303), Buchanan (No. 304), and Livingstone (No. 331) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

Urban data include Canora, Kamsack, Buchanan, and Verigin, Saskatchewan.

** The Doukhorbor figures were obtained from unpublished data of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

†† Other includes eastern religions, Jews, Christians, and unspecified.

*** Rural data include Blaine Lake (No. 434) Municipality, Saskatchewan. Urban data include Blaine Lake town, Saskatchewan.

prairie Doukhobors are actually influenced by the language, religion, and other cultural heritages of all these invaders is a matter for further discussion in the next chapter.

5. Concentration of Community Membership in Older and Newer Districts

Contacts with the larger Canadian community, and particularly those made with new settlers in town or country, and by Doukhobors engaged in outside labour, led to a gradual secularization of Doukhobor life. But the potential sectarian zeal of the people was aroused by the government's final disposal of the Doukhobor reserves. The attention of the leader was now directed towards the salvation of the nucleus of his Community. He realized that a reduction of the Doukhobor reserves on the part of the government might be construed as persecution and thus serve to intensify sectarian feeling. He also raised the old question about moving to a warmer climate which would make fruit and vegetable growing possible, and his suggestions revived earlier feelings of discontent with prairie life.

There was perhaps as much secularization in evidence in Verigin district as in other Doukhobor colonies. Yet the sectarian core was still found there, symbolized by the Community administration and by the residence of Peter Verigin. Thus it was arranged to call in the "true Doukhobors", that is, the members of the Community, from Blaine Lake and Devil's Lake colonies. A very large proportion of them moved to Verigin and Swan River, and three new villages were built on the northern edge of the Thunder Hill settlement. In fact, more than one-half of the Community Doukhobors from Blaine Lake colony moved east to the larger settlements in 1907 and 1908. But many of these migrants did not become permanent settlers in the Assiniboia reserves. In spite of the fact that they had shared in the buying of expensive machinery, they left the Doukhobor Community within a year or two, and took up individual homesteads in the Blaine Lake district. Fewer Doukhobors returned to the Devil's Lake colony, because much of the land there was swampy and therefore unsuited to farming.

Henceforth the trend among the Doukhobors who remained in Saskatchewan was towards independence. One example of how this took place is shown in the following statement by the government

immigration agent at Swan River. Concerning the 1908 season he reports as follows to his superior at Winnipeg:

Peter Verigin has ordered out to work three-fourths of the men left here, and the one-fourth will stay and take off their crops. The order is that each and every man sent out to work must bring home at least \$150 in the fall, or be put out of the Community, and they will do this for him. There is one village where over one hundred have refused to put their earnings and money in the general communal fund, so Peter has ordered them all to get out of the Community, and one man in another village earned \$66 and did not hand it in March last, so he has been put out of the Community; so you see the work goes on, and Peter's family will be getting smaller all the time.¹⁹

This policy of concentration of Community members on the prairie was promoted by the purchase of additional land. In 1905 Verigin had begun this programme, by acquiring in his own name, but for his people, certain tracts of land which had not been a part of the original Doukhobor reserves. When the last of the reserves were finally discontinued in 1918, the Community (which in 1917 had been incorporated under a Dominion charter) owned enough land to serve such of its members as still lived on the prairie. Some of this land has been sold in recent years, during the regime of Peter Verigin Jr. The data available are not detailed enough to indicate what the maximum holdings were but it appears that the post-war deflation caused the earliest sales. In 1931 the holdings in the Verigin district totalled 14,436 acres, or almost 23 square miles.

But the greatest change affected at this time by Verigin Sr. was the transference of most of the Community people to British Columbia. The Kootenay and boundary districts of British Columbia were chosen after other sections of the North American continent—Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon, Alberta, etc.—had been investigated by responsible leaders and representatives of the people.

The southern interior of British Columbia was peculiarly suitable for the establishment of a semi-isolated and largely self-contained colony such as the sect had often striven to become and had attained for at least short periods of time. This suitability involved not only climate, topography, and soil conditions, but also the existing industrial and transportation situation in the southern part of the province. The Doukhobors had the additional advantage of not being in the same desperate straits as had been the case when they moved from Russia to Canada. The prairie Community

¹⁹ H. Harley to J. Bruce Walker, Commissioner of Immigration, Ottawa, April 28, 1908. (Files of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa).

provided an arena for the efforts of those who had not yet gone to British Columbia and those who might never go. Thus they could support themselves and contribute to the maintenance of their brethren during the early years in the new colonies.

Other pioneers in British Columbia had preceded the Doukhobors by twenty years or more. The main industry was mining, but its characteristic agricultural pattern—that of an intensely-farmed high-priced fruit and garden country—was also indicated during the early years. A railway, adequately subsidized, had been built from Macleod through the Crowsnest Pass to Kootenay Lake, which gave ready steamer access to Nelson. From this point there was rail transport to the mining and industrial centres of Trail, Rossland, Grand Forks, and Phoenix, all of which had rail communication also with Spokane. Thus agriculture grew up as more than merely a local enterprise, because the mining industry had already led to the building of railways from outside points. Fruit growing soon became the leading type of agriculture where irrigation was feasible, and the produce was marketed not only in the nearby towns, but in other parts of Canada and in Europe.²⁰

Kootenay, Columbia, and Kettle River valleys to which the Doukhobors went have only a comparatively narrow strip of arable land at their river bottoms, from which the mountains tower to altitudes of 5,000-8,000 feet or more. Where the rock did not break through the surface, the land was covered with forests of fir and pine. Considerable labour was involved in clearing the land and preparing it for the first crop and these improvements normally doubled or trebled its value. At the same time uncleared land changed hands at a figure two or three times as great as that prevalent in settled parts of the prairie.²¹ Precipitation and temperature conditions are such as to make this country a semi-arid region. Successful farming, therefore, involves the extra expense of installing irrigation facilities, which further increase the land values.²²

Members of the Doukhobor Community settled for the most part on virgin land which they prepared for crops with their own communal labour. They also purchased some fruit farms which

²⁰ On the development of this district see Volume IX of this series, Part II.

²¹ Early Doukhobor purchases included 2,700 acres at \$52.50 per acre near Brilliant and 900 acres at \$35 per acre near Grand Forks.

²² Expenditures on the irrigation systems of the British Columbia Communities as of 1931 was stated by Trevor to be \$438,000 in some ten systems in as many localities. With some 2,000 to 3,000 acres irrigated, this indicates an investment of \$150 to \$200 an acre. See Trevor, *op. cit.*

had been improved for 5 to 20 years. Nelson and Grand Forks²³ were the existing centres near which the new Doukhobor settlements were established. Brilliant, situated at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers about 25 miles from Nelson, was the largest new centre arising from the Doukhobor invasion. It is situated on the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway between Nelson and Grand Forks, and is the dominant trade and social centre for several scattered subsidiary Community and Independent settlements in the adjacent valleys. Another smaller Doukhobor colony was established about 50 miles from Brilliant, in the vicinity of Grand Forks. The settlements at Brilliant and Grand Forks were begun in 1908 on purchased land. At Brilliant there was only virgin forest, but some improved orchard land was available at Grand Forks. The original party of 85 men, which went forward to Waterloo, the first Brilliant purchase, in the spring of 1908, was composed of 2 men from each of the Saskatchewan Community villages. These men made coöperative efforts at clearing the land and building houses, and they were joined by their wives and children the following year. A similar procedure was followed for the rest of their British Columbia lands, most of which were acquired by 1913. During these early years, the Doukhobors were busy clearing land, preparing and marketing forest products, and setting out orchards. In time they began the operation of fruit farms, a jam factory, a brick yard, and several saw-mills. Migration to the new settlements continued, until more than two-thirds of the continuing Community members had been moved to British Columbia, while the rest of the Community members continued farming in Saskatchewan. Community officials, with an adequate centralization of resources, arranged this division of effort. Once the main migrations with their initial cash needs were over, the tendency was, especially on the prairie, more and more to retain the man power on the Community farms all the year round and to produce the maximum yields on the expanding land base of the Community. In British Columbia a large number of adults of both sexes was released for work away from the Community farms, since both women and children were recruited for work in fields and orchards. Some of the adult workers were employed by Anglo-Saxon neighbours but many more worked in the industries controlled by the Community. The latter have been manned

²³ These towns with populations in 1911 of 4,476 and 1,577 inhabitants, respectively, were the trade centres for the surrounding mining, smelting, and farming areas.

mainly by Doukhobors who carried out the construction work involved in setting up the plants.

The enterprises of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, Limited, prospered during the war years when agricultural products sold at high prices, and the base was laid for still further increase in capital and land facilities. It was during this period (1916) that two new Doukhobor colonies were begun at the nearest points in the Alberta foothills where wheat could be grown profitably. These two settlements, Cowley and Lundbreck, are situated on the Crowsnest line of the C.P.R. about 300 miles from Brilliant. They were colonized from British Columbia by about 200 Doukhobors in family groups. Within two years wheat and flour were shipped from these foothill colonies to Brilliant rather than from the Community mill at Verigin, 1,500 miles away. Another small colony was established in 1918 at Kylemore, Saskatchewan, some 50 miles west of the old Devil's Lake reserve. This project was begun under the stimulus of rising grain prices in a district where land was cheaper than at Verigin.

The present pattern of Doukhobor Community settlements with the farms of Independents located near them, may be briefly indicated by way of summary.

The four major areas²⁴ (Fig. 4) in which the first colonies were established in 1899 are still inhabited by 6,000-7,000 Doukhobors.²⁵ But only the area near Verigin (part of the old South colony) remains as a centre for Community members. About 6,000 Doukhobors live in the two large colonies in British Columbia where development has proceeded apace in recent years.²⁶ Each of the original nuclei near Brilliant and Grand Forks has its subsidiary neighbourhood settlements inhabited by both Community and Independent Doukhobors. Their expansion along the valleys in British Columbia continues and has in many instances led to the virtual displacement of older settlements established by English-speaking people. Finally, there are the Cowley-Lundbreck colonies in Alberta which comprise about 300 Community Doukhobors.²⁷

²⁴ North and South colonies, Devil's Lake, and the northern part of the Saskatchewan colonies (now Blaine Lake colony).

²⁵ Unpublished data obtained from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics indicate that 5,563 Doukhobors were reported in 1931 for Census Division No. 9, Saskatchewan, which includes the old North and South colonies, and Devil's Lake colony. A total of 1,162 Doukhobors were reported for Census Division No. 16, which includes the Blaine Lake colony.

²⁶ *Ibid.* In 1931, a total of 6,033 Doukhobors were reported for British Columbia, and they were distributed mainly in Census Divisions Nos. 2 and 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.* In 1931 a total of 786 Doukhobors were reported for Alberta, distributed as follows: 297 in Census Division No. 2 (which includes Cowley and Lundbreck), 391 in Census Division No. 3, and 98 were scattered in other parts of the province.

Influences from the larger Canadian community are impinging on all these Doukhobor colonies. Both geographical and social factors condition the extent to which they affect the ordinary Doukhobor family. Outside contacts are more frequent and varied for the Doukhobors on the Saskatchewan prairies than for those living in the Alberta foothills or in the valleys of British Columbia. The Doukhobors' own attitudes also enter into the situation. The Independents have gone farthest in adjusting themselves to the Canadian environment, the Community Doukhobors have made compromises, particularly with regard to economic relationships, while the sectarian extremists, the "Sons of Freedom", have endeavoured to isolate themselves from "the world".

6. *Central Organization and the local Communal Units*

An understanding of the development of the Doukhobor communistic organization from the early years in Canada is given by H. Trevor:

When Mr. P. Verigin arrived in Canada (in 1902) he at once gave all his energy and influence to the organization of the Doukhobors' colony on a communistic basis. The basic unit of his first organization was the village. The settlement later became the basic unit. There were three settlement communities in Saskatchewan, one for each of the settlement areas. These were located in the White Sand River or Yorkton district, the Thunder Hill district, and the Duck Lake or Prince Albert district.²⁸ These communities have never been entirely united or organized on a purely communistic basis. Mr. Verigin exerted much effort to unite all three of them through a central organization. In this he succeeded in part but not entirely. . . .

When Mr. Verigin brought his Doukhobors to British Columbia, the foundation for the organization of a hundred per cent. commune was well prepared:

- (1) The Doukhobors were again under persecution;
- (2) They came to the wilderness where interference from outsiders was difficult;
- (3) They had to hold and work together because the undertaking demanded it; all were employed in land clearing and orchard planting, women as well as men;
- (4) There was no shelter prepared for them as yet. They had of necessity to build houses after such a plan as would be suited to community life. . . .

All the income and earnings of the individual members of the commune were turned in to the central office. All the Doukhobors were organized as one commune. Individual members of the villages were directly dependent on the central organization. The intermediate authority was one elder elected by each settlement. These elders had very little authority and generally

²⁸ Yorkton district corresponds to the old South Colony; Duck Lake or Prince Albert district corresponds to what official reports called the Saskatchewan Colonies.

speaking were of little importance. When an individual Doukhobor needed any necessary commodity he went directly to the central office or to the leader himself. . . .

The period of the hundred per cent. communism for the Doukhobors is associated with a large debt which was incurred during that time. The necessity of a change in the organization of the colony was hastened by the fact that after the land had been cleared and the orchards planted many of the members of necessity had to find work outside the commune. The requirements of these people could not be supplied from the community headquarters.

The change in the organization was not abrupt. Modifications were adopted from time to time. Details of the system were determined from year to year and varied greatly. In general the organization of the commune beginning about 1915 was as follows:

All members of the commune, when at home, were provided with shelter, flour, potatoes, and salt by the central office. . . . Each member of the commune was allotted a certain sum of money. This sum varied from year to year, and a different amount of money was given to men, widows, and old people. . . .

Each adult was obliged to bring to the central office a sum of money which was determined each year and which varied in different years. . . .

The various settlements were considered as one unit. Hay from one farm could be brought to another farm where hay was scarce; potatoes from one farm could be taken by the residents of another; wheat grown in Saskatchewan was ground in Community mills and the flour was distributed among all the villages of Saskatchewan, as well as in British Columbia; fruits from British Columbia were shipped to Saskatchewan, etc.

From the point of view of the central office the organization proved much superior to the original communistic system. Under the original system the disagreeable procedure of extorting money from the members returning had to be gone through. Mr. Verigin himself and satellites collected the money. It always created "misunderstandings" and sometimes hostilities. Many would not earn "sufficient" to meet the levy. Others were known to have earned more than needed but pretended that they had not. Several of the "cheaters" were expelled from the commune. A few were not guilty of the offences of which they were accused. Mr. P. N. Verigin on this account developed many enemies. He was losing members from the commune continually. In 1912 the Doukhobor Commune was made up of about 8,000 persons; in 1917 its membership was 5,880.

The organization continued as described until the arrival of the new leader, Mr. P. Verigin, Jr., who altered it and in many ways made it more workable. . . .

P. Verigin, Jr., readily observed another weakness of his father's organization. One central office with its staff could not possibly attend to the details of the organization of the whole colony. It could not insure the proper cultivation of lands throughout the whole Doukhobor area. . . .

P. Verigin, Jr., decided to provide a tangible incentive to the Doukhobors for working their lands and orchards more diligently. . . . He set out to make the life less communal, and to reduce the size of the economic unit. He introduced the system of buying and selling into all phases of the relations between

the central office of the Doukhobors and the individual Doukhobors, as well as the use of money in transactions among the Doukhobors themselves.²⁹

The chief aim of the unified commune had been to bring about equality among the Doukhobors. It had become apparent that not only was this equality imperfect but that it was bought at the expense of other important attributes of good Doukhobors—integrity, kindliness, generosity, and brotherhood. Young Peter therefore removed the mandatory aspect from communism, and, for those of his people who still followed that way of life, reverted to small local groups, somewhat similar to the farm villages of Saskatchewan. These were to be regarded as large "Families", within each of which there was to be a measure of communal living, though even in this aspect a wide variation in the organization and rigidity of communism was provided.³⁰

It is important to note that money transactions replaced the unwieldy barter system of earlier years, in all business relations between the C.C.U.B. central offices and the branch communes, and the same applied to exchange of produce among the latter. This change would appear to be rather fundamental, perhaps a significant step toward the ultimate disappearance of communism from the Doukhobor sect. Yet the prevalent opinion among the Community members in all three provinces seems to be that, although many communes had replaced one, the system and the idea behind it are substantially unchanged. In this connection it may be pointed out that personal handling of money in certain connections, including the purchase by individuals of many ordinary consumption needs, had been introduced even in old Peter's time.

Rigid equality as between members of one "Family" and those of another was no longer indicated in the set-up of the Community. But in order to make an approximation of equality feasible, similar ratios of persons to farm lands were assigned within each province to the various "Families". In recognition of the fundamental contrast between grain growing on the prairie and the fruit industry of British Columbia, each of the prairie "Families" was allotted only 25 persons, including men, women, and children, while the British Columbia "Families" began with 100 people each. Land assigned to the "Families" was adjusted, not only according to acreage but also with reference to fertility and improvements.

²⁹ Trevor, *op. cit.* Verigin Senior's initials were P. V. rather than P. N. as stated by Trevor.

³⁰ "Family" is the English term used by the Doukhobor to denote these new branch communes. In this study it is spelt with a capital to distinguish it from the ordinary meaning of the word.

Subsequent developments in inequality as between villages indicate that differences in sub-soil and availability of water had not been considered sufficiently, especially in British Columbia. The original aim, however, was to arrange that the people should acquire a new interest in the soil and in the welfare of their particular "Family's" farm, and that differences in industry and skill alone should account for any marked divergences in economic well-being in ensuing years.

In total 44 "Families" or branch communes were set up in British Columbia, where most of the Community members have lived in post-war years. Eleven of these are near West Grand Forks, a few are in the Slocan Valley, and the rest are within 8 or 10 miles of the C.C.U.B. headquarters at Brilliant. At Cowley-Lundbreck 12 "Families" operate wheat and range land in three compact blocks. Near Verigin village in Saskatchewan are 17 "Families" in one solid block, and 50 miles to the west at Kylemore are the other 12 "Families" of the Community. Numerical inequalities have developed in these "Families" since 1928, and what were probably inequalities implicit in the original division of physical resources have also manifested themselves in differences of income and expenditure among the communes.

The relation of these "Families" to the general management of the C.C.U.B. suggests that of tenant and landlord. They are called upon to pay the central office annual assessments, which in British Columbia are based upon the man power of the village, and in Alberta and Saskatchewan on acreage as well as on man power. The Doukhobor officials deny that this is rent, a contention which they substantiate by mentioning that: (1) all Community members share in the ownership of its land, and (2) that the money thus collected is used only to meet payments of interest and principal on the mortgaged debt on the Community's land. In other words, when this debt is liquidated or reduced to lesser proportions, the assessments will fall accordingly.

The C.C.U.B. administration has been decentralized for non-farming purposes into provincial branches. To these have been delegated the conduct of the industrial and commercial enterprises. The general management's functions are to coördinate the agricultural and industrial operations of its members, and to manage its finances. In this way its actual duties now consist in: (1) collecting the assessments from the "Families" in the various provinces, (2) collecting rents from its provincial branches and from

other individual Doukhobor and non-Doukhobor tenants occupying its surplus farm and town properties, and (3) paying debt charges, taxes of all kinds, and costs of capital improvements such as buildings, land-clearing, and maintenance on its property.

The branches conduct the business enterprises of the Community in the plants which they theoretically, at least, rent from general management. In Alberta and Saskatchewan this consists chiefly in buying by monopoly right all the surplus grain of the "Families" and selling it through the C.C.U.B. elevators, or grinding it into flour in C.C.U.B. mills. But this last enterprise disappeared in Saskatchewan with the burning of the large Verigin mill in 1931. The flour is sold mostly to Doukhobor people through the bosses of their villages or "Families". In addition, the C.C.U.B. operates retail stores in British Columbia and Saskatchewan, which are intended to cater to C.C.U.B. members, but they are also open to the general public and no longer enjoy a trade monopoly among Community people.³¹

The provincial branch of the C.C.U.B. in British Columbia is the largest and the most important since its operations affect a majority of the Community members. In the same way that the prairie branches have a monopoly of the grain grown by members there, the British Columbia branch buys all the fruit of the "Families" in the mountains. This fruit is marketed fresh in prairie and overseas markets, or processed into jams and preserves in the large factory at Brilliant. The manufacture and sale of such forest products as lumber, poles, posts, and cordwood is an even more important undertaking, both in turnover and numbers of employees engaged.

The employees of these branches are paid wages in the same way as are those of conventional capitalistic enterprises. The same is true with respect to general management and the people employed in clearing new land, for example. In actual practice these payments are made on paper, and they are frequently set off against obligations of the respective "Families" to the office.

All these employees are Community Doukhobors, who are members of a "Family" or branch commune. In theory, therefore, all their earnings, from whatever source, are paid over to the boss of their "Family" in order that they may be applied to its common expenses. The workers on the farm derive their living

³¹ The Brilliant and the Glade stores in British Columbia are remote from any but Doukhobor customers nor have they nearby rivals.

in kind, and in cash when it is available, without reference to the amount of their labour for wages, but rather on the basis of their needs according to age and sex. The object of the members of a "Family", then, is first of all to take care of the operation of their agricultural enterprise on the land assigned to them, and then to place the surplus of their working force in remunerative jobs away from the village. Whether the employer is the C.C.U.B. or not is largely immaterial. It so happens, however, that in recent years, with general unskilled labour markets (into which most Doukhobors naturally fit) providing few openings, the Community enterprises have provided most of the opportunities for earning wages.

Although a detailed indication of how this most recent form of Doukhobor communism has worked out is reserved for the following chapter, a few general remarks may be made here. It appears evident that the financial position of the C.C.U.B. and the task of general management in arranging it have been clarified. This has not meant the complete elimination of irregularities and "dishonesty" on the part of the people. But it has thrown the arena for such conflicts back into some 80 communes, where a more intimate knowledge of affairs is possible, and where members are much easier to supervise than in other days when old Peter and his associates had direct supervision of all settlements. On the other hand, these petty officials do not command any extraordinary obedience or respect from those who have elected them to office.

Expressions of the spirit of "helping each other" are frequently on the tongues of members. The actual manifestation of the principle varies from "Family" to "Family", from province to province, and from year to year. Prosperity, age and sex proportions, inclinations of the people, and even favours from the C.C.U.B. office in the form of jobs, determine the extent to which living in the "Families" is communistic. Similar factors govern how much money is used by individuals and more particularly by the village boss. The system has by no means discarded the original communistic principle which the people have striven to follow in Canada, but it shows clearly the impact of non-communistic farming and business practices.

CHAPTER III

TRENDS IN MEANS AND MODES OF LIVING

THIS chapter gives some account of how the Doukhobors in Canada obtain their means of livelihood and of their general mode of living. The first part will deal with the changes in their agricultural and industrial practices as follows: (1) Peasant economy in Russia, (2) farming in the prairie colonies, (3) productivity trends as affected by the move to British Columbia. Thereafter is presented a statistical analysis of present income and expenditure practices among Independents and Community Doukhobors in Saskatchewan and in British Columbia. This section also includes descriptive references to housing, food habits, and other aspects of family living.

Since all phases of Doukhor life are influenced by their traditions as a sectarian peasant folk of Russia, a brief reference to their background will facilitate the study of their living conditions in Canada.

1. Peasant Economy in Russia

The Doukhobors had been grain farmers while they lived in the Milky Waters district in southern Russia. Wheat was their main crop but they also raised an abundance of fruit and vegetables for home use.

After their banishment to the Caucasus Mountains in the 1840's climatic conditions in their new surroundings forced them to change to cattle and sheep raising. They became relatively prosperous over a period of 30 to 40 years in the Caucasus, but memories of the milder climate of Milky Waters strengthened their wish to settle some day in a more arable region. The religious revival of the 1880's reinforced this desire because it emphasized a vegetarianism which was clearly incompatible with their present agricultural situation. These experiences explain in part why many of the Doukhobors later became dissatisfied with the rigours of the Saskatchewan climate.

Self-sufficiency was the keynote of the Doukhobors' economy

in Russia. They built their houses and barns, and made tools, wagons, furniture, and shoes. The women's handicrafts included spinning and weaving of wool and cotton, and sewing garments for all members of the family. This occupational background helped the sectarians to face the hardships of pioneering on the Canadian prairie, and many of the old-world skills have been preserved to the present day.

2. *Farming in the Prairie Colonies*

The land settlement arrangements made between the Dominion government and the committee representing the Doukhobors have already been dealt with at some length in the preceding chapter. Likewise some account has been given of the pioneer period on the Doukhobor reserves. To supplement this descriptive material an analysis was made of agricultural census data for two sample areas within which the old Doukhobor reserves were situated.

Table VIII shows the changes in size of farms and in land utilization for the Kamsack-Canora and Blaine Lake sections during the period 1906-1926. The figures, of course, do not refer to Doukhobor farms alone¹ but to all farms within the specified municipalities (see footnote of Table VIII). But they indicate in a general way what the trends in farming have been over the 1906-1926 period.² The data for 1906 include only the number of farms and the average field crop acreage, but more complete information is available for the next three census periods. Dealing first with the Kamsack-Canora section, we find that the greatest expansion occurred during the decade 1906-1916, when the railway lines reached this area. It was during this decade, as already stated, that a part of the Doukhobor reserves was thrown open for individual settlement. The number of farms in the Kamsack-Canora section increased from 2,100 to 2,829, and the average field crop acreage rose from 23 to 79 acres. Slower devel-

¹ The Kamsack-Canora and Blaine Lake areas studied in Table VIII cover about 52 townships, or 2,196 square miles. The trend in the size of farms in these areas has not been greatly influenced by the blocks of land held by Community Doukhobors, as the following figures suggest: In 1904 Mavor estimated that the Doukhobors held 350,000 acres or 547 square miles in Saskatchewan. In 1908, after the reduction of the reserves, the Community Doukhobors were allowed 122,625 acres, or about 192 square miles of the original reserve. Figures are not available for the additional amount of land bought by the Community at this time. In 1931 the C.C.U.B. Ltd. owned 31,156 acres in Saskatchewan, or about 49 square miles (see Chapter II, footnote 9, and Table IX, which show the investments of the C.C.U.B. Ltd. in 1931).

² The 1931 agricultural census data compiled on a municipal basis are unfortunately not yet available.

opment took place during the next decade and the trend is irregular for some of the items studied. Thus, while the number of farms increased from 1916 to 1926, and likewise the improved acreage per farm, the peak for size of farms and for average field crop acreage was reached in 1921.

The figures for land utilization show that wheat was not the major crop in the Kamsack-Canora section until after 1921. During the period 1921-1926, however, the wheat area increased from 28 to 53 acres per farm, or from 27 to 56 per cent. of all field crops. In the meantime the acreage for other crops, mainly oats and barley, dropped from 76 acres to 41 acres per farm, or from 73 to 44 per cent. of all field crops. These figures on land utilization indicate a recent change from mixed farming methods to greater emphasis on grain growing. Inferences as to how permanent this trend is, cannot be drawn, of course, on the basis of a 5-year period.³

In the Blaine Lake district rapid expansion is indicated for the 1906-1916 period by a rise from 28 to 122 in average field crop acreage. This marked increase is offset to some extent, however, by a decrease of 36 farms during the same decade. Agricultural development has been slower since 1916, and here, as in the Kamsack-Canora district, the peak for size of farms and for field crop acreage was reached in 1921. One main distinction between the two sample areas lies in the much greater attention paid to wheat growing in Blaine Lake, as compared with the Kamsack-Canora section. Since 1916, the wheat acreage in Blaine Lake district averaged 95 to 107 acres per farm, while the proportionate range was from 76 to 84 per cent. of all field crops. Here, too, as in the larger sample area we find that the wheat acreage has increased since 1921.

Analysis of the 1926 census information on size of farm holdings⁴ shows that the quarter-section farm (160 acres) or less is the most common for both areas, for 51.7 per cent. of the Kamsack-Canora farms and 46.5 per cent. of the Blaine Lake farms belong in this group. Approximately one-third of all farm holdings in both areas falls in the next higher group (161-320 acres). The remainder, 17.3 per cent. in Kamsack-Canora district, and 20.1 per cent. in Blaine Lake district, are more than half a section in size. The figures presented suggest that farm holdings in the

³ In view of the low wheat prices in recent years, it is quite probable that the 1931 figures will show less emphasis on wheat growing.

⁴ See Appendix Table II.

areas of Doukhobor concentration are on the whole smaller than those found in other group settlements studied in this volume.⁵

It is assumed here that the agricultural trends outlined in preceding paragraphs represent the sort of conditions under which the Saskatchewan Doukhobors live. But they do not indicate whether Doukhobors are better or poorer farmers than other settlers in the Prairie Provinces. In a later section of this chapter an attempt is made to deal with this question. Suffice it here

TABLE VIII—SIZE OF FARMS AND LAND UTILIZATION IN KAMSACK-CANORA AND BLAINE LAKE DISTRICTS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1906-1926*

YEAR	TOTAL FARMS (no.)	AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS (acres)	IMPROVED ACREAGE PER FARM	AVERAGE FIELD CROP ACREAGE	WHEAT		OTHER CROPS	
					Average Acreage	Per cent.	Average Acreage	Per cent.
a. Kamsack-Canora District†								
1906	2,100	...	...	23	...	...	...	...
1916	2,829	213	91	79	20	25	59	75
1921	2,911	270	125	104	28	27	76	73
1926	3,090	268	129	94	53	56	42	44
b. Blaine Lake District**								
1906	417	...	...	28	...	...	...	...
1916	381	286	169	122	95	78	27	22
1921	472	304	181	131	100	76	31	24
1926	608	276	178	128	107	84	20	16

* *Census of Northwest Provinces, 1906*, Table 27; *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1916*, Table I; 1926, Table 97; *Census of Canada, 1921*, Tables 81 and 82.

† Includes Coté (No. 271), Sliding Hills (No. 273), St. Philips (No. 301), Keyes (No. 303), Buchanan (No. 304), and Livingstone (No. 331) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

** Includes the rural municipality of Blaine Lake (No. 434), Saskatchewan.

to say that Independent Doukhobor families from whom income and expenditure data were obtained compare favourably with the Manitoba Mennonites⁶. It has already been mentioned that Community Doukhobors in Saskatchewan and Alberta form "Families" or branch communes, which are subsidiary to the central organization of the C.C.U.B. at Brilliant, B.C. Their financial status cannot readily be analysed apart from that of the larger corporation. Such figures as are available are dealt with

⁵ In 1926 the average size of farms in the Manitoba West Reserve, the North and South area of the Mormon Country, and the French-Canadian settlements studied in this volume were: 190, 343, 502, 307, 241, 227 acres, respectively.

⁶ See Chapter VII.

in the following section which discusses productivity trends of the Community Doukhobors after the majority of them had migrated to British Columbia.

3. *Productivity Trends as Affected by the Move to British Columbia*

The economic adjustments of the Community Doukhobors in British Columbia form a process which, for the sake of convenience, may be divided into two stages:

(a) the period of migration, (b) the period of self-dependent "Families".⁷ The first stage extended from 1908 to 1912 or 1913, which meant that some of the mountain communes had become self-supporting while others still received aid. The migration to British Columbia was financed from a central fund to which all Community members in Saskatchewan contributed. The money was raised mainly by an assessment of the man power of the villages. A practice of earlier years was revived by sending of hundreds of Doukhobors to work outside the settlements during the summer months. An annual levy



FIG. 9—Headquarters of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Ltd., at Brilliant, B.C.

of \$100 to \$200 per man was assessed for the central fund, before local village expenditures were met. These plans were facilitated by the general demand for construction workers at that time, and by the good crops raised on the Community farms in Saskatchewan.

These annual levies yielded \$214,000 in 1911, at a time when the British Columbia migration was at its height. Other contributions from the villages and from individual Doukhobors brought the migration fund for that year up to \$342,099.⁸ Nevertheless a deficit of several thousand dollars was incurred on behalf of the B.C. Community Doukhobors during the following year.

⁷ An alternative term, "B.C. Hundreds", is sometimes applied to the branch communes in British Columbia, because they originally contained 100 persons.

⁸ *Report of the British Columbia Royal Commission on the Doukhobors* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1912), pp. T 40, T 41.

In 1909 the Community Doukhobors owned 2,800 acres of land near Brilliant and 2,900 acres near Grand Forks.⁹ Most of these areas were covered by heavy forests which had to be cleared before orchards could be planted. Lumbering was naturally resorted to, not only to supply local needs for building materials, but to meet some of the expenses of clearing. Other pioneer activities included cultivation of the new land, installation of irrigation facilities, and



FIG. 10—Archway in one of the older Community houses at Brilliant, B.C.

the building of roads. By 1912 two miles of road had been built near Brilliant, and a suspension bridge across the Kootenay gorge near Brilliant was completed. The Community Doukhobors paid \$40,000, or two-thirds of the total cost, and the provincial government contributed the remaining third. This bridge is still in good repair and forms an integral part of the C.C.U.B. road system, which is semi-public in character.

The Community Doukhobors had become fairly well established in British Columbia by 1916. Their migration was completed, the first pioneer hardships had been faced, and it remained for them to consolidate their position

in the new colonies. Only fragmentary data are available for this period, but the indications are that their farms were intensively cultivated for fruit and vegetable production, and that considerable industrial expansion took place during the war years.

A few concrete figures will illustrate the above statements. In 1916 the Community's land holdings in British Columbia totalled 19,000 acres, of which 7,500 acres, or 39.5 per cent., were cultivated. In 1931, fifteen years later, the total holdings were 22,056 acres, of which 12,427 acres, or 56.3 per cent. were under cultivation. The investments in livestock and farm machinery were substantially the same in 1931 as in 1916. The valuations for

⁹ *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 23, 1909.

livestock were: \$106,000 in 1916; and \$114,450 in 1931. Farm machinery was valued at \$44,000 in 1916, and at \$37,500 in 1931.

The emphasis placed on industrial enterprises is illustrated by the fact that 8 saw-mills operating in 1916 produced two or three carloads of lumber daily for the prairie markets, and that 2 brick-yards produced 2½ million bricks annually. In addition to these plants the Community had built 3 small flour mills to supply local needs, and a canning factory at Brilliant. The total valu-

TABLE IX—ANALYSIS OF PROPERTY OWNED BY THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD, LIMITED, 1931

	SASKATCHEWAN		ALBERTA		BRITISH COLUMBIA		TOTAL	
	Dollars	Per cent.	Dollars	Per cent.	Dollars	Per cent.	Dollars	Per cent.
Total property....	1,208,689	100.0	604,742	100.0	4,559,675	100.0	6,373,106	100.0
Farm:								
Land.....	821,575	68.0	414,742	68.6	3,216,845	70.5	4,453,162	69.9
Buildings.....	106,500	8.8	36,900	6.1	622,550	13.7	765,950	12.0
Machinery.....	59,000	4.9	20,000	3.3	41,500	0.9	120,500	1.9
Livestock.....	117,500	9.7	70,500	11.7	117,780	2.6	305,780	4.8
Other:								
Commercial and industrial....	74,164	6.1	58,000	9.6	395,000	8.7	527,164	8.3
Town property.	29,950	2.5	4,600	0.7	166,000	3.6	200,550	3.1

ation of these industrial plants was placed at \$400,000 in 1916. Other investments included irrigation facilities at \$100,000,¹⁰ a \$25,000 electric power plant at Brilliant, and road improvements worth \$24,000.

Table IX gives an analysis of the 1931 investments of the C.C.U.B. Ltd. by provinces.¹¹ Total valuation of the Community's holdings are \$6,373,106, distributed as follows: \$1,208,689 in Saskatchewan, \$604,742 in Alberta, and \$4,559,675 in British Columbia. The obligations of the C.C.U.B. Ltd. as given under the item "Accounts Payable" on the balance sheet of December 31,

¹⁰ In 1931 the total inventory of the irrigation plant was placed at \$441,000. At present these facilities serve less than half of the area for which they were intended.

¹¹ Data obtained through courtesy of C.C.U.B. officials at Brilliant, B.C., from the consolidated statement of property owned by the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, Limited, as of December 31, 1931.

1931, total \$459,600. This amount is owed to the Department of Provincial Land, Manitoba, to a Canadian bank, and to several insurance companies.

Farm property, including four sub-items, forms the major type of investment in each province, namely, 91.4, 89.7, and 87.7 per cent. of total valuation for Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, respectively. Other property, which includes commercial and industrial holdings as well as town property, accounts for \$104,114, \$62,600, and \$561,000 for Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, respectively. The corresponding proportions of total investments in each province are 8.6, 10.3, and 12.3 per cent.

TABLE X—ANALYSIS OF VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD, LIMITED, 1931

	SASKATCHE- WAN (per cent.)	ALBERTA (per cent.)	BRITISH COLUMBIA (per cent.)	TOTAL (per cent.)
Total farm property.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Land.....	74.4	76.5	80.4	78.9
Buildings.....	9.6	6.8	15.6	13.6
Machinery.....	5.4	3.7	1.0	2.1
Livestock.....	10.6	13.0	3.0	5.4

In Table X the valuations for farm, land, buildings, machinery, and livestock are shown as percentages of total farm property. Land is the largest item in each province; livestock ranks second in Saskatchewan and Alberta, while buildings comprise the second largest item in British Columbia. Machinery is the smallest item in all three provinces, ranging from 1.0 per cent. of total farm property in British Columbia to 5.4 per cent. in Saskatchewan. Data on size of land holdings are shown in Table XI. The largest holdings, 30,198 acres, are in Saskatchewan; British Columbia comes next with 21,938 acres, and Alberta third with 11,397 acres. But the variations in land values are significant as indicated by a general average of only \$27 per acre in Saskatchewan, \$36 per acre in Alberta, and \$147 per acre in British Columbia. Differences in land utilization, namely, grain growing on the prairies, and raising of fruit and vegetables in British Columbia are, of

course, involved here. Another factor is the heavy cost of improving the land in British Columbia, shown in Table XI by land values ranging from \$30 per acre for timber or pasture land, to \$150 per acre for cultivated land, and \$300 per acre for orchard land.

The preceding data, however fragmentary, show that the Doukhobors' attempts to build self-sufficient communities in Canada led to very different occupational practices from those they had followed in Russia. In the interests of economy they have adopted modern machine methods in farming, especially in the prairie colonies. The migration to British Columbia meant changing to

TABLE XI—ACREAGE AND VALUE OF FARM LAND OWNED BY THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD, LIMITED, 1931

	SASKATCHE- WAN (acres)	ALBERTA (acres)	BRITISH COLUMBIA (acres)	TOTAL (acres)
Acreage of farm land owned....	30,198	11,397	21,938	63,533
Value of land (dollars per acre)...	27	36	147	70
Orchard.....	..	..	300	..
Under cultivation.....	..	..	150	..
Timber and pasture.....	..	..	30	..

other types of farming and engaging in lumbering and in the canning industry. At the present time a considerable part of the Community Doukhobors' income is derived from the production of lumber, jam, and canned fruit and vegetables. Yet the aims of self-sufficiency have to some degree been attained since many goods, such as flour, vegetables, fruit, bricks, and lumber are produced by the Doukhobors themselves. Exchange of products between prairie and British Columbia settlements indicates a certain interdependence among the communes. But even here the original plans have been modified. One major instance is seen in the fact that wheat and flour no longer are shipped from the Saskatchewan communes to those in British Columbia, but go directly to world markets. Meanwhile the British Columbia communes buy their wheat and flour either from the Cowley-Lundbreck communes or elsewhere as market prices dictate.

As a result of these changes in agricultural and industrial pursuits the Community as a whole has become more and more integrated in world economy. For its members, like individualistic settlers in Western Canada, are dependent on world markets for the sale of their surplus products, and for the purchase of manufactured goods such as sugar, salt, rice, men's clothing, cotton and woollen goods, tools, and machinery.

4. Modes of Living

Certain major differences between Community Doukhobors and Independents must be kept in mind when we come to analyse their income and expenditure practices. The Independent Doukhobor family must meet all its own outlays, whether for farm oper-

TABLE XII—LEVY PAID BY ONE BRITISH COLUMBIA "FAMILY" IN 1932

AGE GROUPS	NUMBER OF MALES	LEVY RATE (dollars)	AMOUNT PAID (dollars)
16-19 years	4	200	800
20-44 "	12	350	4,200
45-55 "	7	250	1,750
Total	23	...	6,750

ating expenses, family living, or capital investment. But in the "Family" communes the land, buildings, machinery, and work horses are owned by the C.C.U.B. Ltd. The central management assumes direct responsibility for all capital indebtedness. It also pays the taxes, cost of clearing new land, erection of buildings, and all irrigation works. The local commune in turn shares in these obligations by means of an annual levy. In Saskatchewan the rates are based on acreage of cultivated land, while in British Columbia the sum varies according to the number and age of the Community's able-bodied adult males. A rate of \$1 per acre of cultivated land and \$0.50 per acre for hay or pasture land were the figures given in 1932 for one of the Alberta communes. Table XII shows the 1932 levy paid by one of the British Columbia "Families".

These rates which apply to all the British Columbia "Families" vary from year to year, but the assessments of previous years

serve as a guide in planning for the future needs of the C.C.U.B. Ltd. The local communes do their banking through the central office and all their debts are owed to the central management. The "Families" pay operating expenses on their farms, such as minor repairs on buildings or equipment, the cost of tools, spraying of fruit, and hired labour. 7

The main income and expenditure items were surveyed in 1932 for a sample of 6 Doukhobor "Families"¹², 1 of which is in Saskat-



FIG. 11—Doukhobor Community houses on newly-cleared land near Brilliant, B.C.

chewan, 1 in Alberta, and 4 in British Columbia. The results are given in averages per person and in percentage terms in Table XIII.

The British Columbia sample group, which totals 321 persons, is, of course, more representative of the Community Doukhobors, than are the two smaller sample groups of 31 and 17 persons for Saskatchewan and Alberta. Total cash income for one year is \$96 per person for the Saskatchewan "Family", but only \$82 and \$84 per person for the Alberta and British Columbia "Families", respectively. Over against these figures stand the total cash expenditures which averaged \$100, \$165, and \$290 per person for

¹² As already mentioned, the prairie "Families" originally had 25 persons each, the B.C. "Families" 100 each, hence the great differences in population for the sample communes.

Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia "Families", respectively. Even if allowance is made for errors in estimating the various items,¹³ it seems clear that these communes had deficits,

TABLE XIII—MAIN INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ITEMS OF SIX DOUKHOBOR "FAMILIES" IN SASKATCHEWAN, ALBERTA, AND BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1932*

	1 SASKATCHEWAN "FAMILY"		1 ALBERTA "FAMILY"		4 BRITISH COLUMBIA "FAMILIES"	
Number of Persons†	31		17		321	
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ITEMS	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.
Total Cash Income	96	100.0	82	100.0	84	100.0
Crop sales.....	83	86.5	44	53.7	9	10.7
Stock sales.....	5	5.2	15	18.3	..	**
Farm produce....	5	5.2	23	28.0	11	13.1
Custom work and other receipts††	3	3.1	..	..	64	76.2
b. Total Cash Expen- diture.....	100	100.0	165	100.0	290	100.0
Investment and farm expenses..	81	81.0	114	69.1	237	81.7
Cash living.....	19	19.0	51	30.9	53	18.3

* Methods of classifying and treating farm schedule data used in this type of table, as well as in that dealing with total living expenditures of farm families, are explained in detail in Appendix A of Vol. VI of this series. The period, for which income and expenditure data were obtained, covered the year ending April 30, 1932.

† The number of ordinary families (composed of parents and their children) were 4 and 3 for Saskatchewan and Alberta communes, respectively. The corresponding figures are not available for the B.C. "Families".

** Less than 0.1.

†† This includes income from work outside the "Family" commune, whether in the employment of the general management, or outside the Community altogether.

particularly in Alberta and British Columbia. These deficits, as already noted, appear on the books as debts to the general management. Significant differences are seen in the sources of income for these "Families", in that crop sales form the major item in Saskatchewan and Alberta, while "other receipts" is the main

¹³ The survey data were obtained from the "village books" in each of the 6 "Families" studied.

item for the British Columbia "Families". It should be noted here that "crop sales" refer to the main crop in a given commune, namely, wheat in Saskatchewan and Alberta, and fruit in British Columbia. Income from farm produce ranks second in all three

TABLE XIV—TOTAL LIVING EXPENDITURES PER PERSON FOR SIX DOUKHOBOR COMMUNES IN SASKATCHEWAN, ALBERTA, AND BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1932

	1 SASKATCHEWAN "FAMILY"		1 ALBERTA "FAMILY"		4 BRITISH COLUMBIA "FAMILIES"	
No. of Persons.....	31		17		321	
ITEMS OF FAMILY LIVING	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.
a. Total Living.....	90	100.0	155	100.0	108	100.0
Cash living.....	19	21.1	51	32.9	53	49.1
Farm contributions.....	71	78.9	104	67.1	55	50.9
b. Cash Living:						
Food.....	12	13.3	28	18.1	34	31.5
Clothing.....	3	3.3	12	7.8	12	11.1
Household operation.....	2	2.2	1	0.6	2	1.9
Automobile.....	0	0.0	0	0.0	*	0.0
Advancement goods.....	1	1.2	1	0.6	*	0.0
Health.....	1	1.1	9	5.8	5	4.6
c. Farm Contributions:						
Rent (10 per cent, of value of house).....	6	6.7	6	3.9	11	10.2
Livestock.....	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other farm produce.....	65	72.2	98	63.2	44	40.7

* Less than \$1.

provinces, though here, too, there are wide differences between communes, both in absolute amounts and in percentage terms.

Total cash expenditure was averaged for two groups of items: investment and farm expenses, and cash living.¹⁴ Wide differences are noted here, too, among the different communes. Investment

¹⁴ It was not possible, from the data at hand, to treat investment, interest, and farm expenses as separate items. The first two, of course, are included in the annual levies for each commune.

and farm expense range from \$81 per person for the Saskatchewan "Family" to \$114, and \$237 for Alberta and British Columbia "Families". Cash living averages similar amounts for Alberta and British Columbia "Families", namely \$51 and \$53 per person, respectively, while the exceptionally low average of \$19 is given for the Saskatchewan "Family". A complete comparison is not possible between Community Doukhobors and Independents, because of the former's complicated relationships with the general management. But a few figures obtained from a study of 7 Independent families may be of interest. The latter group averaged \$168 per person for cash income, \$141 per person for investment (plus interest) and farm expense, and \$83 per person for cash living. Assuming that these 7 families are typical of the Independents, it would appear that their attainments, measured in dollar terms, are well above the average for Community Doukhobors.¹⁵

An analysis of total living expenditures for the 6 sample "Families" is given in Table XIV. The (a) section shows wide differences among "Families" in the absolute and proportionate amounts for cash living and farm contributions. The British Columbia "Families", the most representative sample group, derive 49.1 and 50.9 per cent. from cash living and farm contributions. The prairie "Families" show exceptionally large proportions, namely, 78.9 and 67.1 per cent. for farm contributions,¹⁶ while the corresponding cash living proportions are only 21.1 and 32.9 per cent. A glance at sections (b) and (c) show that food is by far the largest item of total living in all the sample groups. Taking cash food costs together with "other farm produce", which includes dairy products, eggs, and vegetables, gives averages of \$77, \$126, and \$78 per person, or 85.5, 81.3, and 72.2 per cent. of total living for Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia "Families", respectively. This means that only 14-28 per cent. of total living is available for the remaining items, of which clothing and rent form the largest proportions. Health comes next for two of the sample groups, while household operation and advancement goods comprise negligible amounts. The absence of automobile expenditure for any of these "Families" is in keeping with their frugal modes of living. Moreover, their belief in vegetarianism accounts for the fact that no entries are made under livestock contributed

¹⁵ See Table XV for further details about the Independent Doukhobors.

¹⁶ Data from a sample group of 313 farm families in the Peace River Area (1930) may be cited here by way of comparison. Cash living and farm contributions comprised 65 and 35 per cent., respectively, of total living expenditure. (See Vol. VI in this series.)

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by the farm. The general inference to be drawn from the two preceding tables is that the Community Doukhobors studied have incurred considerable deficits during the survey year, and this in spite of the fact that they appear to have spent very little beyond bare necessities for family living.

TABLE XV—MAIN INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ITEMS OF FARM FAMILIES
(Sample: Seven Independent Doukhobor Families of Saskatchewan and British Columbia and Twelve Mennonite West Reserve Families of Manitoba)

	INDEPENDENT DOUKHOBORS		MENNONITE WEST RESERVE	
Number of Persons.....	37		84	
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ITEMS	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.
a. Total Income.....	223	100.0	177	100.0
Farm receipts.....	150	67.2	137	77.4
Other receipts.....	18	8.1	7	4.0
Increase in operating debt.....	20	9.0	17	9.6
Reduction in inventory.....	35	15.7	16	9.0
b. Total Expenditure.....	224	100.0	150	100.0
Farm expense.....	102	45.5	93	62.0
Cash family living.....	83	37.0	42	28.0
Investment expenditure.....	21	9.4	3	2.0
Interest.....	18	8.1	12	8.0

Reference has already been made to a comparison between 7 Independent Doukhobor families¹⁷ and 12 Mennonite families from the West Reserve, in Manitoba. Table XV sets forth the main income and expenditure items for one year, based on data collected during the summer of 1932. The two sample groups are obviously too small to allow for any but very tentative conclusions. The Independents compare favourably with the Mennonites with regard to incomes from farm and other receipts, but on the other hand, they have incurred slightly more debt than the latter, and they

¹⁷ The group includes 5 Independent families from the Kamsack-Canora district, and 2 families from Castlegar district, two miles from Brilliant, B.C.

average greater reduction in inventory than do the Mennonites. With regard to the expenditure items, significant differences between the two groups may be noted. The farm expense average for the Independent Doukhobors is higher than that for the Mennonites, but the corresponding percentage is very much lower. The averages for cash living and investment expenditure also vary considerably and the Independent Doukhobors stand higher in both cases. Only the interest item is similar for the two groups. The percentage distributions show that farm receipts is the main income item for both groups, and that the main expenditures are: first, farm expense, and secondly, cash living. The low interest averages suggest that capital indebtedness is small for both Doukhobors and Mennonites. This favourable situation had undoubtedly helped both groups to meet adverse conditions during a depression year. While both groups increased their operating debts, they avoided large deficits by keeping new investment at low figures, and by reducing their inventory, through sale of horses, livestock, or other farm equipment.

Further analysis of how the two sample groups compare in total living expenditure is shown in Table XVI. The Independent Doukhobors rank first for total living with \$185 per person, compared with \$107 per person for the Mennonites. The averages for both cash living and farm contributions are therefore considerably higher for the Doukhobors than for the Mennonites. The percentage figures for these items suggest that the Doukhobors are less dependent on farm contributions than are the Mennonites. With regard to the various sub-items, we may note that food, rent, and clothing are the largest items of total living for both groups, and that all other items are of minor importance. The Doukhobors average considerably more than the Mennonites for cash food and for clothing, but the other cash averages are very similar. With regard to farm contributions, we may note that rent averages are practically the same for both groups, although the proportions relative to total living differ. Other farm produce averages \$74 per person for the Doukhobors, but only \$29 per person for the Mennonites. Livestock averages are \$10 and \$3 per person for Mennonites and Doukhobors, respectively. The figure shown for Independents bears out the fact that many of the families have discarded their vegetarian practices, poultry usually being the first meat item to be added to the diet. The last two tables suggest that so far as the sample groups are con-

cerned, the Independent Doukhobors are as well established, financially, as are the Mennonites, and that the former appear to have the greater means at their disposal, at least for the necessary items of food, rent, and clothing.

The preceding paragraphs gave certain quantitative statements as to how Doukhobors in Canada live: But dollar or percentage

TABLE XVI—TOTAL LIVING EXPENDITURE PER PERSON IN 1932
(Sample: Seven Independent Doukhobor Families from Saskatchewan and British Columbia and Twelve Mennonite West Reserve Families, Manitoba)

	INDEPENDENT DOUKHOBORS		MENNONITE WEST RESERVE	
Number of Persons.....	37		84	
ITEMS OF FAMILY LIVING	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER PERSON (dollars)	PER CENT.
a. Total Family Living.....	185	100.0	107	100.0
Cash living.....	83	44.9	42	39.3
Farm contributions.....	102	55.1	65	60.7
b. Cash Living:				
Food.....	40	21.6	15	14.0
Clothing.....	27	14.6	12	11.2
Household operation.....	3	1.6	4	3.8
Automobile.....	1	0.5	2	1.9
Advancement goods.....	6	3.3	5	4.7
Health.....	6	3.3	4	3.7
c. Farm Contributions:				
Rent (10 per cent. of value of house)...	25	13.5	26	24.3
Livestock.....	3	1.6	10	9.3
Other farm produce.....	74	40.0	29	27.1

figures are at best only partial instruments of analysis. This is particularly true of the Doukhobors who, more than perhaps any other people in Western Canada, obtain many of their supplies by barter between families or communes. A short description of the Doukhobors' houses and of their food, clothing, and health practices therefore seems necessary to supplement the data in previous pages. Mention has already been made in an earlier

chapter of the log or sod houses built by the Doukhobors when they first arrived in Canada. The walls were plastered with mud and whitewashed inside and out. The roofs were thatched or of sod and the floors were of earth beaten to a hard, smooth surface. The furniture consisted of a Russian oven, or perhaps a Canadian cookstove, home-made benches, tables, bedsteads, and large chests for the storage of clothing. Other household equipment included large feather beds, spinning wheels, and a few kitchen utensils. The latter consisted of kettles, iron pots, wooden spoons, and large bowls from which several persons ate at the same time.¹⁸ In spite of their crude construction and equipment these houses were invariably neat and clean. As the Doukhobors became better established they replaced the pioneer dwellings with large frame or brick houses. Many of these have two storeys and are well supplied with windows. New houses on the prairie are built on a smaller land base than that previously operated by the old villages; they accommodate a "Family" commune, which may include as many as 30 or 40 persons. The first Community houses in British Columbia were built in the form of an open quadrangle with an inner court, but the newer ones are separate houses built in groups of two.

The residents in one of these new Community houses use a common kitchen and dining room, but separate sleeping quarters are allocated to each family group. Home-made furniture is still used but there is a growing tendency to replace it by factory-made articles. It is a matter of pride to some of the individual families that they own their bedroom furniture and feather comforters.

Wells are the chief source of water supply on the prairie, but in British Columbia water is commonly piped into the kitchen from the irrigation works. There is no running water in other parts of the British Columbia Community houses, and such conveniences as water-closets or shower-baths have not been installed by the Doukhobors.

A distinctive feature of every Doukhobor commune is its bath-house which also serves as a laundry. Steam baths are provided by pouring water over heated stones or on ovens constructed for this purpose. The weekly steam bath is a custom on which the Doukhobors pride themselves, and it contributes to their feeling

¹⁸ The above description of the first Doukhobor homes in Canada is based on material from *The Doukhobors in Canada*, by Lydia E. Gruchy, a pamphlet issued recently under the auspices of the United Church of Canada.

of superiority over their neighbours, particularly Central and Southeast Europeans. This custom is in keeping with the general practices of cleanliness which are characteristic of all members of the sect.

The Doukhobors' food habits are very simple. Their diet includes bread, eggs, milk, butter, vegetable soups, and stews. Distinctive dishes include *borsch* and *lopshe* (a flour soup). Berries and fruit of all sorts are eaten whenever obtainable. Their purchased food supplies include flour, sugar, oatmeal, rice, and tea.



FIG. 12—Typical Doukhobor Community kitchen in B.C. The woman is removing bread from the Russian brick oven.

Large loaves of bread (10 inches high, and 16 inches in diameter) are baked in the Russian oven found in every kitchen. Coffee is made from roasted barley or wheat, and prunes and apples are dried for winter use. The roasted seeds of pumpkins and sunflowers are eaten as special treats. The Doukhobors are also fond of honey and some communes have recently begun to keep bees.

It will be noted that meat is not included in the above list of foods commonly used by Community Doukhobors. Some of the Independents use it while others still adhere to vegetarian

practices. Other distinct traits of a great many Community Doukhobors are their abstinence from smoking and the use of alcoholic beverages.

The above remarks about eating and drinking habits in general show that the Doukhobors live mainly on the food produced on their farms and their methods of preparing it have not changed much since they came to Canada.

Accommodations made by the Doukhobors in the matter of clothing have already been discussed. Suffice it here to say that the women still practise many of the old handicrafts, such as spinning wool and knitting it into socks, scarves, mittens, or *platokes*. They also continue to make rag rugs from discarded clothing.¹⁹ Sewing machines are in common use, but the old-world patterns are still followed in making women's and children's dresses. There is little change in the matter of women's headwear but factory-made coats are now worn by most of the Doukhobor women. Leather boots and shoes are used among the Community Doukhobors, but some women and children make a practice of going barefoot during the summer months and this obviously means a considerable saving on clothing expenditure.

Certain changes may be noted here in connection with medical practices among the Doukhobors. More and more use has been made of doctors' services in recent years, especially for serious illnesses and for accident cases. But their own practitioners remain in favour here and there, as is indicated by the presence of midwives and bonesetters in some of the settlements. Patent medicines are commonly used for the treatment of minor ailments.

The general impression gathered from both statistical analyses and observation of the Doukhobors' living conditions is that they have gone a long way in changing their methods of production to meet the demands of world markets. But their practices as consumers still mark them as very different from other settlers in Western Canada. This is evident not only from their housing, food, and clothing practices, but from the fact that they spend little or nothing on such items as reading, recreation, or automobiles. The above observations apply mainly, of course, to the Community Doukhobors. The Independents have made varying degrees of adjustment, and many of them have adopted Canadian customs with regard to housing, food, clothing, and amusement. Having noted some of the main features of home life among the

¹⁹ There is apparently no attempt among the Doukhobors to commercialize their handicrafts.

Doukhobors we turn, in the following chapter, to a discussion of their participation in community affairs. Here, too, we shall find that fundamental changes have taken place as a result of the invasion of their former reserves by new settlers, and the diffusion of ideas from the larger Canadian community.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECT'S RESISTANCE TO SECULARIZATION

1. Crises in Doukhobor Education

THE Doukhobors' attitudes toward education are in keeping with their rural traditions and their sectarian convictions.

In Russia they were opposed to the village schools which were dominated by state and orthodox religious precepts. School regulations were evaded as much as possible, with the result that the Doukhobors were largely an illiterate people when they came to Canada. There were exceptions to this general state of affairs, as appears from the analysis of the life histories of 12 men who had spent their boyhood in Russia. All these people could read and write Russian, although 6 of them had received no formal education, and 2 had attended a Doukhobor school for only one year in Russia. Their little "book learning" had been taught them by their fathers or by neighbours.

For some years after their arrival in Canada the Doukhobors had little or no contact with educational authorities. Rapid expansion of settlement made it difficult, if not impossible, for the territorial and later the provincial governments to keep pace with the needs for schools. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that schools were first supplied to those districts which were most anxious to have them, while indifferent or antagonistic communities were neglected for a number of years.¹

Independents, whose aim was to control and operate their own farms, found themselves exposed to, and to a considerable degree conforming to, the ways of outsiders. When school facilities through the initiative of other groups came to their neighbourhoods, most of them, especially in the Saskatchewan colonies, saw fit to send their children to the public schools. In time many of them insisted on greater educational advantages for their children. Today, a number of young Doukhobors in Saskatchewan are enrolled in the high schools and the provincial university, and some of them are now engaged in teaching. The following quotation

¹ In Saskatchewan the compulsory school attendance law was passed in 1916.

states the claims of the Independents of the smaller Blaine Lake colony (1,100 Doukhobors):

Among the Doukhobors of the Blaine Lake district there are 9 public schools, almost entirely under the supervision of Doukhobor trustees and teachers. We have 13 qualified teachers, 4 doctors, 1 practising lawyer, about 12 university students, and approximately 30 high school students, all of which proves that we are in favour of having our children educated.²

The Doukhobor population in Saskatchewan, perhaps because of its smaller proportion of Community members, appears to be more thoroughly interested in education than that of British Columbia. This is indicated by the fact that young Doukhobors in most districts of Saskatchewan are more completely bilingual in their meetings and ordinary conversation than those of British Columbia.³ Furthermore, episodes which might be termed crises in Doukhobor education have been more numerous and spectacular in British Columbia than in Saskatchewan.

The explanation of this contrast is found in at least three factors: (1) differences in the educational policies and experience with foreign blocs on the part of the authorities in each province; (2) the concentration in British Columbia of the most zealous Doukhobor sectarians; and (3) greater community isolation in British Columbia than in Saskatchewan. During the past ten years religious opposition to education, the burning of schools, and nude parades, have made their appearance first in British Columbia and a milder form of sympathetic reaction occurred in Saskatchewan.⁴

Previous to the migrations to British Columbia, the Doukhobors encountered few critical situations with regard to education because of the absence of schools. This was especially true after the arrival of Peter Verigin in 1902. The Russian and English schools, established sporadically in the early years, closed for lack of pupils, apparently as a result of his influence. For some time only a few Independents, especially at Blaine Lake, entered public school. By the time the Saskatchewan *School Attendance Act* was passed in 1916, educational conflict was already widespread in the British Columbia colonies.

As early as 1912 the so-called "Doukhobor problem" underwent

² "An open letter to all our neighbours, peaceful citizens, and our Democratic Government of Canada." *Blaine Lake Echo*, April 13, 1932, signed by the president and the secretary of the Society of Independent Doukhobors (Blaine Lake colony).

³ Young persons in Saskatchewan, who have visited in British Columbia, reported with surprise that, when attempting to converse in English with B.C. Doukhobors of their own age, they encountered lack of understanding or were otherwise induced to talk Russian.

⁴ For full discussion of Sons of Freedom, see section 8 of this chapter.

official examination in British Columbia. While the basis of the discontent among non-Doukhobors, which pointed to the need for the Royal Commission⁵ of that year, may have been fear of the growing economic competition of the invaders, grounds for complaint were conveniently sought in the short-comings of the sect in complying with school attendance and registration laws.⁶ There had been a connection between the two sets of misdemeanours, for when certain Doukhobor men had been arrested in connection with the Vital Statistics Act, the few dozen children who had been permitted to attend school were withdrawn. The Royal Commission recommended that pressure should be brought to bear on the leaders, especially, to secure a more adequate enforcement of the *Public Schools Act*. It also recommended that attention should be given to the selection of some Russian teachers, and to the maintenance of elementary instruction only.⁷ The conflict seems to have subsided for some years during the war, as eleven schools were established in British Columbia Community districts during the 1916-1922 period.

A more prosperous but less sectarian Doukhobor Community emerged during the war. A number of children, especially boys, were induced to enter government schools in British Columbia, and conformity to the educational act seemed well under way.

The trends in total enrolment and average daily attendance at Doukhobor schools in British Columbia are shown in Table XVII. A five-fold increase in enrolment is noted from 1916 to 1921-1922, and average daily attendance rose from 41 to 153 over the same period, with a peak of 209 in 1920-1921. The check in the steady increase in enrolment and attendance observed in 1923-1924 is a reflection of a new wave of opposition to government schools, which brought prosecutions and fines. In the following year a school was burnt at Outlook near Grand Forks. It is possible that this misdemeanour was the act of a few Doukhobor extremists.

⁵ *Report of Royal Commission on Doukhobors, British Columbia* (Victoria, 1912), pp. 33-34.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Thus the commission report lists the objections to the Doukhobors which were brought out in the evidence:

- (1) The Doukhobors are likely by reason of their land holdings to swamp the community.
- (2) It is objectionable that any sect living within our borders should be allowed to subordinate the laws (e.g., school attendance) of the province to their own religious beliefs.
- (3) Refusal to register births, marriages, and deaths removes from the province one of the most important tests of morality and must convey conviction of improper conditions.
- (4) Commercial life of the Doukhobors is different from that of our own people, example as citizens is not desirable.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

Nevertheless, arson as a method of protest gained wider acceptance. It was carried on secretly and no one could or would supply information. Other schools were fired during the same summer, and by February, 1925, nine schools had been burnt. In only one instance were the guilty parties prosecuted. In connection with these burnings and other misdemeanours a small group of Doukhobor extremists known as the Sons of Freedom gained considerable notoriety.

The interval of 1924-1927 was a time of uncertainty in Doukhobor policy regarding education in British Columbia, but in

TABLE XVII—TOTAL ENROLMENT AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AT PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR DOUKHOBORS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1916-1924*

YEAR	ENROLMENT	AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE
1916-17.....	76	41
1917-18.....	183	98
1918-19.....	197	102
1919-20.....	266	143
1920-21.....	414	209
1921-22.....	389	153
1922-23.....	†	†
1923-24.....	188	115

* Data from *British Columbia Public Service Bulletin*, June 1925, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 7.

† No data given.

Saskatchewan the school attendance of Community children showed an appreciable increase. There had been little or no coercion in the latter province where local school officials, long acquainted with Doukhobor attitudes, were able to avoid the necessity of truancy campaigns. A group of 30 to 40 Community children were first marched up to the door of Verigin village school in 1926; this was a spontaneous act on the part of the Doukhobor people. With the exception of a few instances of protest similar to those used by the Sons of Freedom of British Columbia, little conflict has been aroused by general Doukhobor disregard of school laws in Saskatchewan.

Table XVIII shows the enrolment of Doukhobor children in British Columbia during recent years. The total number of children in elementary schools has increased considerably since

1923-1924 (see Table XVII). But the number of Doukhobor children attending high schools in British Columbia is almost negligible.

In spite of the apparent compliance with school regulations, the Community Doukhobors were by no means reconciled to formal education. But they were waiting to learn their new leader's views on the matter. Peter Verigin, Jr. arrived in Canada in 1927, and both Doukhobors and outside observers got the impression that he was in favour of public school education.⁸ The results

TABLE XVIII—ENROLMENT OF DOUKHOBOR CHILDREN IN BRITISH COLUMBIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING THE PERIOD 1925-1932*

TYPE OF SCHOOL	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32
City Schools:							
Elementary.....	100	...	101	268	41	42	106
High.....	...	...	1	3	5	7	7
Rural Schools:							
Municipal elementary....	13	...	12	17	5	6	6
Other elementary.....	487	...	543	573	668	704	698
Total Enrolment.....	600	750†	657	861	719	759	817

* Data from Annual Reports of the Public Schools in British Columbia, 1925-32 inclusive.

† Details of distribution not given.

are seen from the fact that most teachers of experience and officials, such as the inspector and official trustee, report that coöperation and friendliness of Community officials and parent-teacher relations have been much more satisfactory since young Peter's arrival. The same applies to enrolment, attendance, and general standing of the Doukhobor children. Nevertheless, an extensive appreciation of school training on the part of Community parents has yet to be achieved.

⁸ The qualified tone of this statement is to be understood in the light of the almost complete failure of the ambitious plans announced by Peter in Russian upon his arrival in Canada for modern education within the Doukhobor sect. The director of this programme was to have been Paul Birukoff, a cultured Tolstoyan who had helped in the Doukhobor migration to Canada in 1898 and who returned once more with Peter, Jr. to this country in 1927. A sectarian journal which he proposed to edit was never published, and he was never permitted to hold classes. After a year or two of frustration, Birukoff returned to Russia a disillusioned man. Similarly, a trained Russian agriculturist retained in an advisory capacity was never permitted to influence Community farming methods and he resigned in despair after a year.

A total of 324 Doukhobor children attended the nine British Columbia Community schools during the session 1930-1931 and the distribution by grades is indicated in Table XIX.

The predominance of Doukhobor children in the lower grades, 95 per cent. in Grades I-V, inclusive, is partly explained by retardation, as each child learns English for the first time when he enters school. Absences from school also tend to be concentrated in the spring examination period when the youngsters are needed at home for summer work. They are usually withdrawn from school at 16 or sometimes younger.

TABLE XIX—COMPARISON OF THE PUPILS OF NINE DOUKHOBOR COMMUNITY SCHOOLS AND THE PUPILS IN ALL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF ASSISTED DISTRICTS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1930-1931

GRADE	ALL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF ASSISTED DISTRICTS, B.C.		9 DOUKHOBOR COMMUNITY SCHOOLS, B.C.	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
I.....	2,115	18.1	107	33.0
II.....	1,645	14.1	58	17.9
III.....	1,656	14.2	62	19.1
IV.....	1,679	14.4	47	14.5
V.....	1,405	12.0	36	11.1
VI.....	1,205	10.3	7	2.2
VII.....	975	8.3	5	1.6
VIII.....	1,005	8.6	2	0.6
Total.....	11,685	100.0	324	100.0

In twenty-five years the Independent group in British Columbia has produced only two qualified teachers. In Saskatchewan, Doukhobor teachers are numbered by dozens and they do not necessarily teach children of their own religion. For in Saskatchewan every rural school is under the direction of a local board, and there is no central placement of teachers either for Doukhobors or other ethnic groups. In British Columbia, on the other hand, all the Doukhobor schools and a few mixed schools are under the administration of an official trustee. Since facilities for special training are not extensive, every teacher in a Doukhobor school in British Columbia must obtain the special approval of the inspector and trustee.

The fire hazards which exist in many Doukhobor Communities are no longer confined to schools alone, for buildings of various kinds, such as Community-owned plants and residences, as well as a number of buildings owned by non-Doukhobors, and several schools have been bombed within recent years. On the night of April 21, 1924, three schools together with the house of Peter Verigin were burnt at Brilliant. In July 9, 1930, a \$50,000 saw-mill at Crescent Valley near Brilliant was burnt to the ground; this was the second saw-mill to be destroyed in a week. Two schools were also burnt at this time and the fire-proof school building at Glade was dynamited. In February, 1932, the Champion Creek school was bombed, and a fire-proof school near Grand Forks had a corner of the building destroyed by a bomb. During the last six years fires at Verigin have destroyed the C.C.U.B. flour mill, the C.C.U.B. elevator, at least two other elevators, the Beaver Lumber Yard, and lesser buildings. In July 1932, the Cowley school was burnt to the ground and a fire trap was discovered in Lundbreck school before damage was done. In June 1931, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Saskatchewan offered rewards for information as to the destruction by fire in 1929 and 1931 of 19 schools and the threatened firing in the same period of 8 others, nearly all in Doukhobor districts. These incidents went publicly unexplained and unpunished, and now it is almost impossible to obtain fire insurance on any building in a Doukhobor neighbourhood. In 1932, when this survey was made, every Doukhobor school in British Columbia was guarded at night as were the town schools in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

It is apparent that the Doukhobors' resistance to education has been due, not to their preference for the Russian rather than the English language, but to their fear that the public schools would eventually alienate their children from the tenets of the sect. An example of the mellowing effect of years may be indicated in a typical minor conflict of the present time. British Columbia has a night-school system for adults which any teacher may introduce into his school. From time to time classes have been organized in various Doukhobor school districts and they have attracted a number of young Doukhobor men and women. These classes have lasted throughout the entire school year in a few cases, but a very common occurrence has been an apparent waning of interest or a subtle conflict between school hours and the time of revived Community meetings. In other words, the older Doukhobors realize

the possibility of conflict with the younger generation and they resort to more cunning methods in order to combat the dissemination of Canadian culture within their communes. This method of avoidance seems to have been successful so far, for adult education of Doukhobors in British Columbia has not been widespread or effective.

New ideas and practices have found their way into Doukhobor Communities through other channels than the school system. Canadian modes of play and recreation have already attracted many of the younger generation, and newspapers have begun to play a significant role in the lives of all the sectarians. The sharing of larger civic responsibilities on the part of some Doukhobors has been another means of receiving Canadian ideas. An important result of all these influences is that communistic and sectarian objectives are gradually being displaced by individualistic and secular aims.

2. *The Newspaper as a Means of Cultural Diffusion*

The Doukhobors have no literature except a number of new songs which have been transferred from memory to manuscript. Their folklore, passed on by word of mouth, includes psalms (borrowed from the Bible) long chants, and songs and stories which portray the experiences of older members of the sect. The literary contributions of Doukhobors which occasionally appear in United States or Russian-Canadian newspapers and periodicals are in most cases the work of people who are economically independent of the Community. Yet these Doukhobor writers belong to a group which claims fellowship with the Community members, since they still acknowledge the spiritual leadership of Peter Verigin.

But Community Doukhobors are also becoming more interested in the affairs of the world. At least four Russian newspapers, published on this continent, are circulated among them. These papers are: *Kanadsky Gudok*, a weekly published in Winnipeg, *Rassviet* (The Dawn), a daily from Chicago, and two New York dailies: *Russian Voice* and *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. The first is communist in its sympathies and it tends to criticize Peter Verigin and his despotic Community system. *Rassviet*, an anti-communist paper, frequently mentions Doukhobor affairs in favourable terms. The New York papers tend to be communist, and have only occasional Doukhobor items. It would appear, however, that the *Free Press Prairie Farmer* (Winnipeg) leads all publications for

Doukhobor circulation by reason of its small cost of 50 cents per annum. But the Russian papers make their presence felt through the C.C.U.B. offices, all of which receive copies. Not only are they read by a certain number of ordinary Doukhobors, but their contents and those of the local English dailies and town papers are interpreted to the people through leaders at meetings. The *Gudok*, a recently established weekly journal, is more common among individual Doukhobors and families than are the larger Russian dailies from the United States.



FIG. 13—Elderly Community Doukhobors from the Grand Forks settlement, B.C. Four of these men have been imprisoned in Siberia for their pacifist behaviour, and the other two have been leaders in the 1902 pilgrimage in Manitoba.

3. General Social Activity

With the aid of a full programme of social activity, the Doukhobor meeting, the so-called *Sobranie*, is preserved even to-day among Community Doukhobors, especially in British Columbia. Moving pictures and dances, for example, are practically unknown to most of the Community people of Alberta and British Columbia. Even those in Grand Forks who live within a few miles of almost nightly performances do not attend. A suggestion of the trend in assimilation is found in the mixed Community and Independent areas of Saskatchewan, where the only sponsored sectarian activities

are the meetings for song, recitation, and worship. These are apparently enjoyed by a very large proportion of the members of the sect. But young people are also participating in the social affairs of English-Canadian, Ukrainian, and other neighbours. It was observed in Verigin village that some of the young men, who had taken a lively interest in a Doukhobor meeting, went off by car to attend a dance held at some country point. Inquiry seemed to show that such behaviour was not uncommon.

4. Civic Participation

The move to British Columbia was closely connected with the refusal of Community members to take the oath of allegiance, which was one of the prerequisites for the title to a homestead. They also exhibited a complete indifference to membership on school boards, municipal councils, or other political bodies, an attitude which had a background in Russia. Moreover, they refused to register births, marriages, and deaths in Canada, because they feared that such information would be used to conscript their young men for military service. An illustration of the latter statement is seen in the following excerpt from a petition to the Dominion Government, dated February 9, 1901, and signed by representatives of each of the 13 Swan River villages:

A short time after settling on our lands, the government sent to us explanations of their laws as regards marriage, births, and deaths, which were required to be registered—for which we were persecuted in Russia.

The Doukhobors who have left the Community usually comply with this provincial regulation, but no government has taken coercive measures to enforce its vital statistics acts. Compromises have also been made by Community members in regard to census information. In 1921 and 1931 such data were obtained from all Doukhobors, except some of the Sons of Freedom people in the more remote British Columbia settlements. A further adjustment is seen from the fact that C.C.U.B. officials in British Columbia acted as census enumerators in 1931. With regard to taking part in political affairs there has also been a change of front. The first generation of Canadian-born young people over 21 years of age had become sufficiently interested in politics to vote in the federal election of 1930 and later in the Verigin district by-election in 1933. The Independents are the first to make these adjustments to the larger Canadian community and the Community members come

next, but the fanatical Sons of Freedom still refuse to take any part in civic affairs.

5. *Doukhobor Response to Canadian Economic Practices*

The pattern of distribution of trade centres and services in Doukhobor areas is not very different from that in other parts of Western Canada. Villages like Verigin, Kylemore, and Cowley are no longer exclusively centres for Community members, or even for Doukhobors as a whole. The general stores owned by the C.C.U.B. Ltd., are no longer protected by special rules giving them a monopoly of trade among Community members. If Doukhobors tend to patronize merchants of their own groups it is because they receive as good value from them as from their competitors. Verigin, still predominantly a Doukhobor village, may serve as an example of how retail trade is divided among various business men. Its 5 general stores had a total turnover of \$135,000 in 1932, which was divided as follows: a Jewish proprietor ranked first with \$50,000; the C.C.U.B. Ltd. came second with \$40,000; another Jewish merchant ranked third with \$20,000; an Independent and a Ukrainian ranked fourth and fifth with turnovers of \$15,000 and \$10,000, respectively. An informal gathering of Doukhobors is as likely to take place in the shop of a Jewish merchant as in one owned by a member of their own sect. But if the latter is a man of recognized influence among the Doukhobors his premises naturally become a meeting place for adherents of the sect.

In recent years the participation of Independent Doukhobors in Canadian coöperative enterprises has been as great as that of other ethnic groups. The 5-year contracts with the Saskatchewan wheat pool, for example, were signed by 60 to 65 per cent. of the Independents, and these figures compare favourably with those for any other group of settlers. Independents have also joined livestock, poultry, and coarse-grain pools. That they should turn to other economic institutions is as natural as their original break with the Community. For there was no provision for "half membership" in the C.C.U.B. Ltd., and members were required to submit the whole of their economic life to its rules. Those who were unable to comply with these regulations had no other alternative but to conduct their economic affairs on an individualist basis. The circumstances which led Independents to join other coöperative marketing organizations were therefore virtually the same as for other western farmers.

6. Ebb and Flow of Sectarian Zeal

The intensity of fervour which characterized the people at the time they left Russia did not diminish for several years after their settlement in Canada, not in fact till Peter Verigin directed some of their zeal into economically productive channels. In the intervening four years, reacting to imagined rather than to real persecution, and influenced by Russian-speaking non-Doukhobors,⁹ more attention was given to strictly religious activities in some districts than to farming. The manifestations included an abortive exodus of a few dozen persons to the United States in 1900, several petitions in 1901, and finally the pilgrimage already referred to in an earlier chapter. Although a nucleus of this group of zealots survived in subsequent years, most of them were susceptible to control by the practical and moderate Peter.

It remained for new crises to bring to the fore waves of sectarian feeling. The issue in respect to taking up the homesteads on the part of members of the Community provided one crisis. This situation was handled rather astutely by Peter Verigin. If individual Doukhobors were to come into possession of homesteads, they must swear an oath to an earthly ruler. This was repugnant to Doukhobors, and new divisions occurred within the sect. Those who found it possible to appease their consciences and to accept land titles tended towards independence and assimilation. The communistic group revived its sectarian enthusiasm by removing itself to mountain isolation.

The Great War constituted another crisis. The situation with regard to enforcement of conscription in 1917 was precisely what the Doukhobors had professed to fear since their coming to Canada. War and rumours of war, with its possible effects on the group and on the world, still engage a great deal of their attention. Their pacifist standards, however, have not been seriously threatened in Canada, although some Canadian organizations and individuals decried the exemption enjoyed by members of the Doukhobor sect. Reassured of their freedom from military obligations the Doukhobors entered upon an era of economic prosperity and expansion. An ironic aspect, which the conflict within the Doukhobor group assumed for a year or so, is shown in Peter Verigin's attempt to influence the government to conscript the Independents because he considered them outside Doukhoborism and its privi-

⁹In particular, Alexander Bodyansky, who composed the petitions mentioned in Chapter I.

leges. Thus the leader of the Doukhobor Community was himself attempting to persecute with the aid of secular agencies.

It seems that by the end of the war Doukhobor zeal had shifted to a minority group, but the situation was not clear-cut. Opposition to Peter's vacillating policies was made manifest by the burning of schools, the destruction of his own house at Brilliant, and by other surreptitious disorders. Finally there was the death of the leader himself in a railway-car explosion between Grand Forks and Brilliant the night of October 29, 1924.

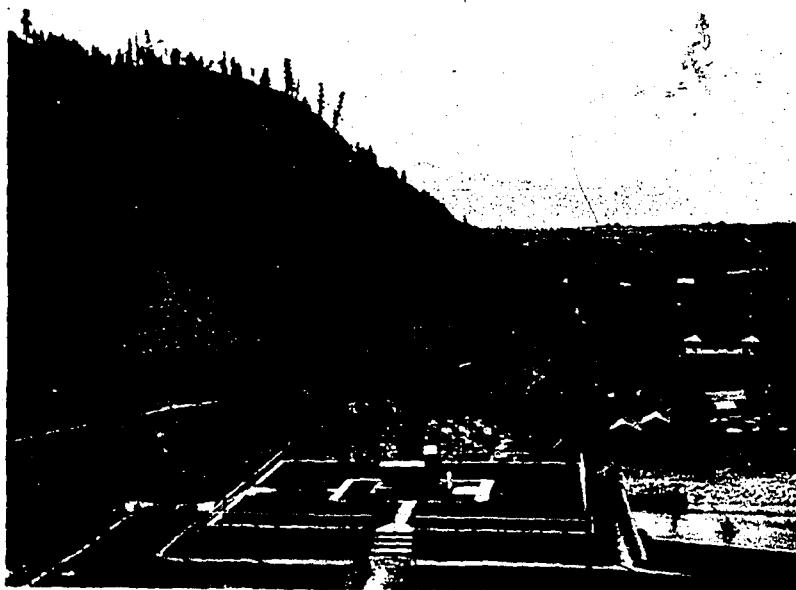


FIG. 14—Peter Verigin's grave near Brilliant, B.C.

The belief of some of the members of the Community that Peter was Christ incarnate was not lessened by these disturbing incidents, and the immediate task of choosing a leader presented no difficulty to the great majority of the Community Doukhobors. Thus Peter Petrovich Verigin, of whom little more was known than that he was the late leader's son and that he lived somewhere in Russia, was readily elected. One discordant note was introduced by a small faction which thought that succession of the Doukhobor patriarchs should be determined not so much by heredity as by the fitness of the chosen leader. On this basis an illiterate woman, Anastasia, who had gained the favour of old Peter and who had

been his frequent companion in later years put forward her claims. Defeated by the majority she withdrew with a few hundred followers to Arrowwood, Alberta, and established the only communistic opposition to the C.C.U.B. in Canada.¹⁰

The Community proceeded for three years without its leader-elect and renewed manifestations of religious fervour and conflict were frequent during this period. Acting leaders of the Community business organization were inclined to be friendly to governmental authorities. Nevertheless, school burnings, truancy, and other non-coöperative actions on the part of a few of the people were frequent.

The ninth school building [since the beginning of the epidemic in May, 1923, in B.C.] was burned February 27th last [1925], following the committal to gaol of two Doukhobors in default of fine for failure to send their children to school.

Inspectors Dunwoody [police] and Sheffield [school] addressed a mass meeting of Doukhobors at Brilliant on April 5th [1925], but were met with a point-blank refusal to obey the school laws. There were also some threats of a nude parade as a protest against any measures taken to enforce the law. . . .

In four schools in the vicinity of Grand Forks there was ample provision for all the Doukhobor children in the adjacent settlements, but on the Monday following no children put in an appearance, and the local leaders of the sect reiterated their decision that their children would not attend no matter what action was taken by the authorities. Summonses were then issued and, although considerable trouble was given to the police serving these, owing to the fathers of delinquent children taking to the hills, 35 defendants were served. . . . On April 9th . . . fines aggregating to \$4,500 were levied against them for breaches of the "Public Schools Act" in failing to send their children to school. The fines were not paid, but this was not due to financial inability, as the members of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood are well-to-do. . . .

The firm attitude adopted by the Government, both in regard to prosecution for failure to send children to school and in levying by distress for the amount of the fines instead of having the defendants committed to prison, appears to be having the desired effect. Further prosecutions were met by a request for a temporary stay in order that the defendants might reconsider their position. This reconsideration resulted in the Doukhobors handing in a cheque for the payment of the balance still due for fines after the sale of Community property, and in their beginning to send their children to school up to the accommodation available, according to reports received at the Department of Education. It is understood that the Community will proceed to the erection of schools to replace those formerly built by them which were destroyed. It is expected that the new leader of the sect, who is on his way out to succeed his father, the late Peter Verigin, will be able to persuade his people to adhere to their latest resolution.¹¹

The same spirit of hopeful expectancy, which had permeated the Doukhobor settlements in 1902 as old Peter approached, was

¹⁰ The dissenting group calls itself the Lordly Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood.

¹¹ *British Columbia Public Service Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1925, pp. 6-7.

again characteristic. And again all factions, including most of those who because of unorthodox practices in economic matters had long since been read out of the sect by the old leader, eagerly awaited the direction and vigour of the new leader's policy.

Amongst Prairie Independents at this time we learn of an attempt on the part of young Doukhobors with educational advantages, mostly college and university students and graduates, to lift the good name of Doukhoborism out of the mire and to perpetuate its high ideals as enunciated by Tolstoy and others. The group was organized in or about the year 1923 and met weekly during the college terms for about three years at Saskatoon. In the summers annual conferences were held in one or the other of the main settlements. The apathy with which the movement was met soon developed into active opposition. Its membership was small and its finances were limited. Moreover, many of its members were, as students, still under the control of, and dependent upon their parents who, in many cases, were its avowed enemies. The movement failed to take root and its operations were, after some three years only, suspended pending Verigin's arrival in Canada. The organization reposed great hopes in Verigin, as he appeared to favour education according to letters received from him. On his arrival Verigin promised me personally that he would endorse the movement and give it his encouragement. This he deferred doing until he became firmly established in the saddle; thereafter he openly denounced the whole idea and scathingly cursed its members.¹²

Again, there was the Society of Young Doukhobors of Blaine Lake district, a post-war movement with a somewhat wider appeal than the university group.

The Society progressed under difficulties. To begin with, three-fourths of the young people did not know what it was all about. Secondly, as the district occupied the radius of 15 to 20 miles, it was hard to have constant contact with each other. Thirdly, suspicion of the older generation was revived so that it hindered the work. Fourthly, lack of accommodation for meetings (this has been remedied lately). Fifthly, the difficulty of speaking in the native tongue. As the attendance at meetings was two-thirds of the older generation, it was courtesy to them to speak in the native tongue. . . . The older faction got control.¹³

The dynamic Peter Verigin Jr. appeared to sense the possibilities of revived zeal in his people. He attempted to unite all Doukhobors in Canada on a religious basis without strict reference to communism or independence. His efforts, which were reinforced by evangelism and revived use of symbolic and colourful customs in dress, language, and song, led to a definite increase of sectarian enthusiasm. But the new spirit of unity survived only until Sons of Freedom showed themselves too fervent and too literal-

¹² Quotation from a letter written by an educated Doukhobor.

¹³ *Ibid.*

minded, and until a considerable minority of Independents proved to be too nearly assimilated to their adopted land to accept a patriarchal leadership. The grandiose methods of the new leader brought him criticism from non-Doukhobor sources and eventually persecution, which only served to strengthen the loyalty of those who chose to follow him.

In 1932-1933 it appeared that he would be deported or would leave Canada permanently and thousands of his followers, within the Community and without, stated that they would follow him. This threat of emigration may be understood by recalling the recurrent migrations of the sect after it had lived 30 to 40 years in a given area.

The question of changes in religious affiliation naturally arises at this point. To what religious denominations, if any, have Independent Doukhobors turned? Many of them now have no formal religious ties, while others, who still believe in Doukhoborism, worship together. Some Independents have been attracted to evangelical groups whose millennial doctrines coincide with orthodox Doukhobor tenets and Russian translations of books on millennialism¹⁴ are found in their homes.

But the larger Protestant denominations in Canada do not seem to have influenced the Doukhobors a great deal, presumably because the presence of professional religious leaders tends to arouse Doukhobor hostility.

7. *Re-alinement in Sectarian Organization*

The essence of the re-alinement which has taken place in the Doukhobor sect during its 35 years in Canada is its growing complexity. Schisms and casual drifting away from orthodox doctrines have resulted in the rise of several minority groups. In addition to these clear-cut divisions of the sect there has been a gradual weakening of the single, unquestioning loyalty of the "true Doukhobors" toward their sect's principles and leaders. This division of interests within the mind of the individual Doukhobor indicates, of course, that secular ideas are gradually encroaching on sectarian ideals.

Four main groups may be distinguished among the Doukhobors in Canada. Certain organizations include only the members of a single group, while others cut across the boundary lines between

¹⁴ For example, *Jehovah's Witnesses*, by Judge E. J. Rutherford.

them. The Society of "Named Doukhobors"¹⁵ is an organization of the latter type, since it embraces the members of the C.C.U.B. Ltd., and also a large number of Independents. The "Named Doukhobors" all acknowledge the religious leadership of Peter Verigin and they total more than one-half of the Doukhobors in Canada. The other two groups might be described as opposite extremes of the sect. The more dynamic group, generally known as the "Sons of Freedom",¹⁶ are the old "die-hards" of Doukhorism. They stand for uncompromising acceptance of the old

TABLE XX—PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR MAIN GROUPS OF DOUKHOBORS IN CANADA, 1930-1932*

GROUP	TOTAL	B.C.	ALBERTA	SASK.	MANITOBA AND ONTARIO
"Named Doukhobors":					
C.C.U.B.	4,775	3,825	250	700	...
Independents	5,350	1,200	50	4,000	100
Other Independents	3,888	208	486	3,156	38
Sons of Freedom	900	800	...	100	...
All Doukhobors	14,913	6,033	786	7,956	138

* The provincial totals are taken from *Census of Canada, 1931*, Bull. No. XXI. The total C.C.U.B. figure is deduced from its annual statement for 1930 where mention is made of an expenditure item of \$14,325 "to Central Executive Committee of Named Doukhobors for members of Community". In that year an assessment of \$3 per member was made for the "Named Doukhobors". The figures obtained, assuming that the full payment was then made, compares favourably with other evidence. The Sons of Freedom have been estimated from those who went to prison in 1932, as well as their dependents. Other "Named Doukhobors", i.e. Independents, who acknowledge Verigin as religious leader, have been estimated in round numbers. The residue has been placed arbitrarily in the group called "Other Independents".

Doukhor principles, including pacifism, simplicity in mode of living, and intolerance of wordly short-comings in others. The fourth group includes those Independents who are most assimilated to Canadian customs, and modes of living. They are indifferent to the spiritual leadership of Peter Verigin, and live on their own farms either in the neighbourhood of Community settlements, or in districts with a mixed population. Table XX shows the approxi-

¹⁵ The term "Named Doukhobors" is the English translation of a Russian phrase which applies to those sectarians whose loyalty and conduct gives them the right to belong to a particular society.

¹⁶ The Russian equivalent is "Svobodniki" which means "free men".

mate distribution of the four above-mentioned groups among various Canadian provinces.

The largest number of "Named Doukhobors" and Independents lives in Saskatchewan, while both Community Doukhobors and Sons of Freedom, as already mentioned in earlier chapters, are strongest in British Columbia. The crystallization of these four groups began during the War years. In 1917 a new company, the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, Limited, was incorporated under a Dominion charter. Every Community Doukhobor was a nominal shareholder but actual ownership and direction of the company's affairs was vested in Peter Verigin Sr., the president, and a few of his associates. A religious organization, the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood, was also formed and its membership was identical with that of the new corporation. This meant that a religious group functioned also as a business organization, but it is not likely that many Doukhobors understood the somewhat academic distinction between these two major aspects of their Community. The Independents, in the meantime, organized themselves into the Society of Independent Doukhobors. Its purpose was to further the welfare of all its members, but particularly to preserve their identity as members of the Doukhobor sect, so that they could claim exemption from military service under agreements made with the Dominion government in 1898.

The more secular tone which now prevails within the Doukhobor Community began to develop during the early post-war years, but it found full expression only after Peter Verigin Jr. arrived in Canada. The tenet that communism was as much a part of true Doukhoborism as belief in Christ, humanitarianism, pacifism, etc., lost conviction after old Peter's death. It then appeared that the Community business leaders were in no sense its spiritual or general leaders. They visualized a development of the C.C.U.B. Ltd., into a voluntary coöperative buying and selling organization, both for its members and for other Independent Doukhobors who had previously been shut out from the Community's activities because they would not submit their entire economic life to its control. But the influence of such managers over the people was slight, owing to the anticipated arrival of young Peter to Canada, and the only result of their policy was a further decline in the membership of the Community with no compensating addition of a body of Independent Doukhobors.

When young Peter's policy of recalling all Doukhobors under his banner became apparent, the development of another formal organization and further differentiation of functions became essential. In the first place Peter had to give recognition to the several groups and formulate a method of winning each to his cause. ~~The divisions were already so firmly established that to follow his~~ father's policy of merging them as in 1902-1903 was not deemed wise. A super-organization to embrace all Doukhobors, without appearing to threaten the outward framework of their existing groups was planned. Thus the Society of "Named Doukhobors" was organized in Saskatchewan in the spring of 1928.¹⁷ It embraced all Doukhobors, "irrespective of the system of property ownership which was adhered to by them"¹⁸ and its tenets included non-violence, marriage based on love, orderly registration of members—including births, marriages, and deaths—internal adjustment of all disputes except criminal offences which automatically expelled a member, and endorsement of public school education but not of the teaching of imperialism and hatred.¹⁹

The "Named Doukhobor" organization was soon extended to Alberta and British Columbia and included all Community members and a large proportion of Independents, who responded with enthusiasm to the advances of young Peter. The new formula indicated that communism, although advantageous economically, was left a matter for personal choice rather than a hard and fast religious injunction. In fact good Doukhobors were to be found in the individualistic groups as well as in the Community.

This new *rapprochement* was promoted and cemented by various formal organizations. Thus the "Named Doukhobor" society had its central executive committee which coöperated with the officials of the C.C.U.B. Ltd. The organization of "Families" within the Community also helped to further sectarian ends, since these branch communes became units for religious as well as for economic purposes. Finally, the "Named Doukhobors" outside the C.C.U.B. Ltd., were grouped in "Hundreds" on a geographic or neighbourhood basis. A head man or boss, elected annually, represents each "Hundred" much as a village boss represents a "Family" commune. The former's functions are, of course, mainly those

¹⁷ Peter Verigin, Jr. arrived in Canada in September, 1927.

¹⁸ Minutes of a meeting of authorized delegates of the Society near Kamsack, Saskatchewan, June 27, 1928.

¹⁹ Programme adopted at same meeting, June 27, 1928.

of a religious leader, while the latter spends most of his time attending to the economic affairs of his group.

The Society of "Named Doukhobors" and more especially the Doukhobors' confidence in Peter Verigin Jr., have been the means of mobilizing the material resources of the various groups within the sect. In other words, Peter Verigin has accumulated a fund of several hundred thousand dollars by obtaining loans and gifts from hundreds of well-to-do Independents. A large proportion of this amount has been loaned to the C.C.U.B. Ltd. to be applied in the liquidation of its mortgage debt to various Canadian financial institutions. This debt, contracted largely in moving to and developing the British Columbia lands, has been reduced by some two-thirds and now stands at less than \$500,000. The fund has really been transferred to the credit of Verigin, who in turn owes much of it to his Independent followers. These transactions appear to have had the intent of using the wealth of Independents, whose prosperity was made possible by the start which the Community gave them in Canada, to rehabilitate the C.C.U.B. Ltd. which was in financial straits partly because of its decreasing membership. Although he controls the fund he collected, Peter Verigin appears to have had very little responsibility for it.²⁰

Within this restored larger Doukhoborism, age and functional organizations were gradually developed. A Union of Young Doukhobors has its affiliations in each settlement, and sponsorship of certain social meetings come from this youth organization. It embraces all single young people over school age, and is deemed to be the medium for reclaiming them after their exposure to secular influences in public school. The spontaneity of the revival of traditional Doukhoborism among young people has in many localities been dampened by too great interference or comment by older people, perhaps grandparents rather than parents.

Following a "suggestion" from Peter Verigin Jr., the Society of "Named Doukhobors" was redivided in 1932 into Community and Farmer Sections, which were to meet separately. Peter often maintained during his legal troubles in 1932 that not the Community people but the Farmers were really his loyal followers. The fact that only the individuals of this group had appreciable sums of money to place at the disposal of their leader at any time may be significant in understanding his attitude.

²⁰ Many C.C.U.B. receipts were signed "Peter P. Chistiakoff", a mere nickname meaning the "sweeper" or "cleaner", which Verigin adopted at first when he was featuring himself as correcting a situation in the C.C.U.B. management of alleged graft and corruption.

8. Sons of Freedom Movement

In response to this evident increase in secularization, the Sons of Freedom movement was revived. Such a movement includes, potentially at least, all Doukhobors in times of stress. In the eyes of the Sons of Freedom most members of the Doukhobor sect have fallen into worldly error.

A rather small group of Doukhobor fanatics living in one or two villages in the Swan River Valley and later near Thrums and Grand Forks, B.C., the Sons of Freedom had from time to time engaged in overt conflict with Community officials and with Canadian society as represented by the police. Their custom of sometimes discarding their clothing in public was at first in line with their tenet of entire freedom from the restraints of civilization. But occasional prosecution led to the adoption of nude demonstrations as an effective method of protest against people and institutions in an "intolerant and misguided world". After the war these small colonies of fanatics consisted largely of old people who were veterans of prairie persecutions and pilgrimages. It is not out of reason to suggest that if they had been left undisturbed, the Sons of Freedom group might have died out or at least dwindled to still smaller proportions.

Yet in the summer of 1932, nearly 1,000 Doukhobors in jails or in other public institutions in Saskatchewan and British Columbia confessed adherence to the Sons of Freedom movement. Nearly all of these people were comparatively recent recruits from Community or Independent groups, in whom the embers of fanaticism have been fanned within the past ten years and more particularly since 1927. In an earlier period during the epidemic of school arson, when the Sons of Freedom attained notoriety in pleading innocence, there does not appear to have been any appreciable growth in their numbers. Indeed, Peter Verigin Jr. tried to bring the fanatics into the new Doukhoborism, by commending their zeal and using their name to adorn the very select of his followers. For a time the slogan, "The Sons of Freedom will never be the slaves of corruption!" was displayed prominently on platforms where Peter spoke in all three provinces. But he soon found that the fanatics interpreted their name and beliefs too literally, and they were eventually left to their own devices. Other Doukhobor groups may have contributed to Verigin's change of attitude, which took the form of denying to the fanatics the right to the designation

"Sons of Freedom". Since his early disillusionment, Peter and his followers, whether Community Doukhobors or Independents, have been more bitter and outspoken against the fanatics than have non-Doukhobors.

And so the basis for the rapid growth of the so-called fanatic group was laid. Verigin's thoroughgoing plans for the financial rehabilitation of the Community meant heavy burdens on the villages and their members, and left them few savings apart from "dishonest" accumulations and a theoretical share in the C.C.U.B. itself. Even in the years of high prices, 1928 and 1929, some of the "Families" found it difficult to meet their assessments and since then the situation has become acute. Positive discontent developed in some of the communes which were situated on marginal land in British Columbia.²¹ With Sons of Freedom in mind, the C.C.U.B. promulgated specific rules that any member who refused to send his children to school or who refused to pay his assessment automatically forfeited his membership and rights. Thus when some of the Community people rationalized their difficulties in meeting the money demands of the central office by conscientious objection to all taxes and to private ownership of land, they thereby indicated their sympathies with the Sons of Freedom group. If they were a minority in a given neighbourhood, successful eviction often led them to seek a haven in one of the established Sons of Freedom colonies. If they represented a growing local attitude, it was not many seasons till their whole district had "gone fanatic", and through passive resistance defied eviction by the Community. Their children did not attend school and mysterious fires destroyed some of the school buildings.

More than one clash with police and school authorities centred around organized truancy and nude demonstrations,²² and such behaviour soon became standard devices of protest against the Community group. The federal legislature attempted to deal with the "Doukhobor problem", in July 1931, by amending the criminal code so as to provide a maximum penalty of three years' imprisonment for those who were convicted of nude demonstrations.²³ It appears to be a part of public policy in British Columbia to deal consistently with further offences of this sort.

The rift between the Community and certain of its former members

²¹ This was the case at Krestova, where the whole settlement of 200 people paraded nude and went to prison in 1932.

²² One such instance occurred at South Slokan and vicinity in September, 1929.

²³ *Statutes of Canada*, 21-22, Geo. V, c. 28, section. 2.

emerged into overt conflict early in 1932. Some Sons of Freedom tried to emphasize their views by stripping in the face of the C.C.U.B. officials who tried to evict them. Arrests took place which led to further demonstrations on the part of Doukhobor sympathizers, and therewith to further arrests.

The nudist movement gathered strength during six weeks, so that it not only became a true test of fellowship among the Sons of Freedom to be arrested for nudity, but various Doukhobors whose fanatic leanings had not been suspected by their closest neighbours were imbued with its fervour and hastened to the scenes



FIG. 15—Doukhobor women in the jail-yard at Nelson, B.C., in 1932. These women are members of the "Sons of Freedom" group.

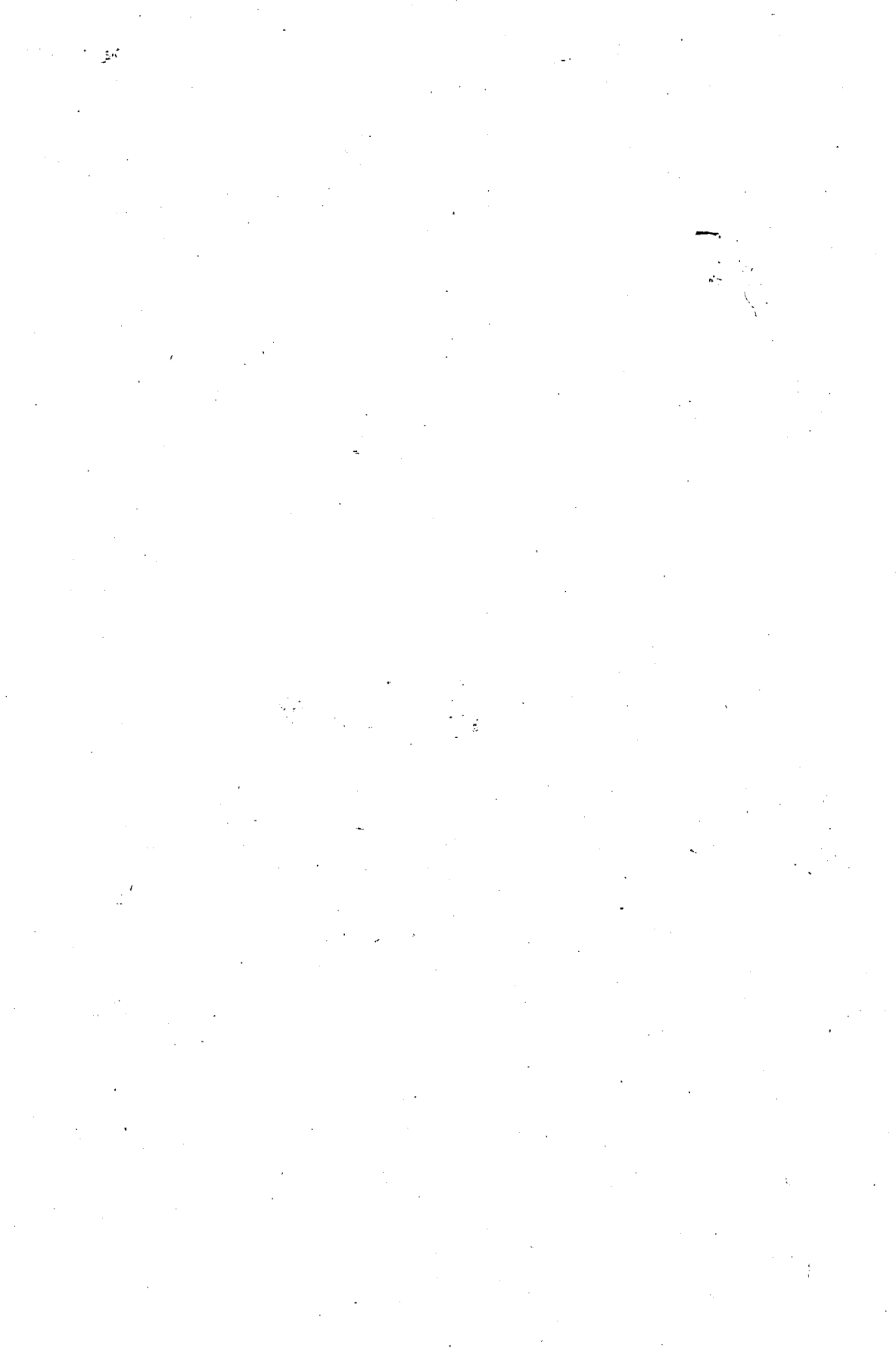
of the weekly Sunday parades in British Columbia. The conflict was repeated on a lesser scale in eastern Saskatchewan where most of the offenders received sentences of only three months. Several hundred adults in British Columbia, however, were sentenced to three years' penal servitude, and their children were placed in provincial institutions. Thus the entire family life of these people has been disrupted. Men and women are segregated in prison camps, and it is difficult to predict how strong or defiant their attitude of conflict will be upon their release in 1935 or earlier.²⁴ There is reason to believe that the rift between the Sons of Freedom and other Doukhobors is more apparent than real,

²⁴ Most of the prisoners were paroled after arrangements had been made for their absorption into various Doukhobor settlements.

but whether in the immediate future this implies a renewal of the general movement toward "fanaticism" is open to question.

9. Conclusion

It is quite apparent that Independents are more secular in outlook than are the Community people, but their degree of assimilation varies for different communities. There are numerous "autonomous" Independent communities in Saskatchewan where members are more influenced by Canadian institutions and attitudes than by those of the Community Doukhobors. But in British Columbia the Independent farmers are for the most part conscious of sectarian dominance for they are small minorities in Doukhobor areas. Additional barriers to the more rapid and thorough-going assimilation of British Columbia and Alberta Independents are found in the very contour of the country which makes for small homogeneous settlements. Then too, there is the traditional status of interloper rather than of pioneer, which attaches to all Doukhobors in these two western provinces. Yet these Independents comprise the largest group of Doukhobors in Canada (see Table XX). Their number constitutes the main index of Doukhobor readjustment to conditions in highly competitive and individualistic Canadian communities. The residue of Community members, too, have made their peace in many ways with the economic and social world which has surrounded and penetrated the majority of their communities.



PART II
THE MENNONITES

CHAPTER V

RECURRENT MIGRATION IN THE LIFE OF THE SECT

1. Introduction—Mennonite Origins

THE movement of Mennonites to the Canadian prairies resembles in some respects the settlement of French-Canadians, Germans, and members of other ethnic groups in this same area at a later date. In each case the settlement was of a group character and was made in isolated sections of the pioneer fringe. The settlers in each case possessed a high degree of social unity, and were distinguished from their Anglo-Saxon neighbours by language, religion, and other cultural heritages.

More significant for this study, however, are those sectarian characteristics of the Mennonites which set them apart from the French-Canadian and German groups. Mennonite settlement in Canada is merely the most recent phase in the history of a sect which, during four hundred years, has passed through recurring cycles of unrest and migration to isolated areas. In their theocratic government and their traditional pattern of village settlement, the Mennonites resemble the Doukhobors and the Mormons discussed elsewhere in this volume; they differ from the Doukhobors, however, in that during the past century they have not practised extensive communal ownership of land or goods.

Because the sect plays a prominent role in Canadian group settlement, a brief analysis of its nature seems essential. Sects emerge in those periods of unrest when the rigid formalism and authority of existing institutions are challenged. Those restless members who become susceptible to the fervent appeals of new leaders find themselves swept into the vortex of a religious movement out of which emerges a new "way of life" and new forms of religious organization. This "way of life" includes the set of practices and the beliefs which support them and, if these practices are found to be at variance with the existing *mores*, the members of the sect may be persecuted by supporters of the established institutions. Such persecution, however, usually enhances the sect's solidarity and heightens its intolerance of the tenets of

outsiders, which the true sectarian views as wholly wrong and with which there must be no compromise. Nevertheless, the "world" from which it has withdrawn threatens, in many subtle ways, to enter the sect, destroy its doctrinal purity, and bring compromise and schism. The danger of such penetration is not great during the earlier stages of its development when group feeling is intense, but this initial fervour recedes as "its way of life" grows more rigid and formal. Furthermore, some sectarians become prosperous and, in consequence, are more likely to be tolerated by their "worldly" neighbours. Certain of these sectarians, in turn, become somewhat ashamed of the fanatical views of their fellows and forsake them to form more liberal religious groups.

The major task of sectarian leaders is to hold such disintegrating tendencies in check. They attempt to do so by employing devices which will isolate their brethren more completely from contacts with outsiders. This isolation is secured in fullest measure through inducing the sect to migrate to some remote region. Where such a departure is not feasible, they may increase the present barriers of separation by enjoining the members of the sect to trade, marry, and play within the group. Their leaders, also, cause greater significance to be attached to symbols and rituals understood and used only by members of the sect. By such means they hope to keep the sect introspective and devout. When all other devices fail, excommunication can be used to exclude the non-conformists. With the extension of modern means of communication and transportation, continued isolation for any group becomes extremely unlikely and its absorption by the larger community is almost inevitable.

The Mennonite group originated early in the sixteenth century, during that period of turbulent social unrest out of which came the religious movements constituting the Protestant Reformation. The movements of Luther and Calvin were merely the most obvious of these. The many dissenting groups, moreover, could not long maintain order within their own ranks; they had defended the liberty of the individual conscience against the compulsions of constituted authority and must needs suffer the divisive results of their teachings. The original sects split into sub-sects, which waged war on each other, and only after a century of dissension did some semblance of religious order crystallize out of the turmoil.

Amid these conditions, the Mennonite sect grew up as a direct off-shoot of the Roman Catholic Church. Its leader, Menno

Simons, and his chief lieutenants had been members of the Catholic clergy, but in 1537 they were drawn into the Protestant current of the times. Leaving his parish of Witmarsum in Holland and with a price on his head, Menno Simons became an itinerant preacher in Holland and northern Germany. In many places he succeeded in establishing bands of followers in spite of severe resistance, if not actual persecution. In most cases they were able to escape detection by secret meetings and a simple form of worship which afforded no material evidence against them should they be interrupted at their devotions. Before his death in 1561, Menno Simons had the satisfaction of seeing his sect securely established.

In the beginning, the organization of the sect was extremely loose and each local group was almost entirely autonomous both in organization and doctrine. As the group grew in numbers and importance, a movement was initiated toward closer integration of its various parts. This resulted at length in the Dortrecht Confession of Faith, which, since its first appearance in 1632, has been the supreme doctrinal authority of the sect. Of its theological doctrines, it may be said that they were sufficiently unusual to incur the wrath, not merely of Catholics, but of Calvinists and Lutherans as well. In matters of moral conduct they preached an austerity not unlike that of the Puritans or the Quakers. An article of their faith which has been of great significance in their later history is that which concerns the use of violence:

... we should not provoke or do violence to any man... even, when necessary, to flee for the Lord's sake from one country to another and take patiently the spoiling of our goods, but to do violence to no man.¹

This clause, which makes it impossible for a Mennonite to bear arms, has been a prolific source of conflict. Other articles of Mennonite belief concern their refusal to swear oaths, the election of unpaid ministers and other church officers, the exhortation of humility, and the avoidance of display. The evident similarities between Mennonite and Quaker doctrines are probably due in part to certain early contacts which are known to have occurred between the two movements.

The early life of the sect was stirred by the constant threat of persecution. Many Mennonites were able to meet this danger by secret meetings, others were either unable or did not wish to

¹ D. K. Cassel, *History of the Mennonites* (Philadelphia: 1888), p. 36.

resort to this expedient, and adopted the alternative of migration to a new region. When the new home in its turn proved inhospitable to their faith, they moved on once more. Thus there developed a tradition of migration as a means of meeting group crises, a tradition which still persists. Migration plays a dual role in the life of the sect: it is a means of avoiding real or fancied persecution, and it is also a means of isolating the group by removing it from inroads of a secular civilization.

2. *Early Migrations of the Sect*

Early persecutions of the sect resulted in the migration of many of its members and a consequent wide dispersion of Mennonites throughout the countries of Europe. We shall restrict our discussion to the ancestors of the Western Canadian Mennonites, that is, those who were migrants to East Prussia and later to Russia. Invited by Prussian noblemen who desired industrious farmers for their estates, the Mennonites of northern Germany and Holland were granted important concessions, the most significant of which, from the Mennonite point of view, were exemption from military service and the right to their own schools and churches. The Mennonites proved themselves adept at the drainage and cultivation of waste land, and speedily became the wealthiest group in the country.

During and after the reign of Frederick the Great, however, the Prussian ruling class came to fear that the growth of the Mennonite population might weaken the military power of the state. The Mennonites were accordingly subjected to heavy taxes and other burdensome restrictions. They recalled the experiences of their people during the past two centuries when they had escaped similar persecution by migration, and they began to look around for a new home. By a fortunate coincidence, Catherine of Russia had just decided to open up large stretches of agricultural land in southern Russia and sought settlers with agricultural experience. She offered the Mennonites free land, exemption from military service, and educational and religious liberty. Her invitation was well received and resulted in the movement of some 8,000 Mennonites to Russia between 1787 and 1840. With the establishment of the Mennonites in Russia we enter a new cycle of development.

3. *Migration from Russia to Manitoba*

The migrants settled in two large colonies on the lower Dnieper near the Sea of Azov. The soil of this level treeless steppe was

fertile and well suited to the production of wheat, oats, barley, and hay. The Mennonites were on the frontier of settlement and had no neighbours to the south except roving bands of Tartars. Their distance from the St. Petersburg authorities allowed them a large measure of local autonomy and enabled them to set up their own institutions.

They dwelt in farm villages, the characteristic features of which will be discussed in the next chapter. The government of each village was carried on by a chief magistrate (*der Schulze*) and by village meetings in which landholders only took part. Closely integrated with the pattern of village settlement was the Mennonite church. Nearly every village had its simple frame "meeting house", in which worship was conducted in the traditional way. Choirs, organs, fervent preaching, or any other innovation was frowned on; long sermons were read from manuscripts. Ministers received no special training, served without pay, and were elected by the congregation for life. The school was an arm of the church which, in the main, was developed to perpetuate the German language and the Mennonite religion. The curriculum, therefore, consisted of reading, writing, and ciphering, together with much memorizing of the catechism and of Scriptural verses. The church stood out as the central interest in the life of the community. Religious gatherings were almost the only community gatherings. Church discipline covered all spheres of life and delinquents might be punished by the elders with the church ban, and, since this meant business and social ostracism, it was almost invariably effective in bringing the offender to terms.

Under their theocratic system the Mennonites prospered; by 1870 their number had increased to 45,000 and they were much wealthier than their Russian neighbours. Population pressure forced the purchase of "daughter colonies" in other parts of south Russia to which young landless Mennonites might migrate.

With the passing of time, religious life of the Old Colony church tended to become severely formal.² This formalism led to the splitting-off of groups which desired a more fervent type of church life. Still others, owing to their increased wealth and toleration, found liberal religious groupings more congenial. As early as 1830 a group, which opposed the assumption of temporal power by the church, formed a new organization, the *Kleine Gemeinde*. In the sixties another strong evangelical movement resulted in

² Mennonites refer to the settlement at Charlitz in Russia as "the Old Colony".

the formation of the *Brüder Gemeinde* (Mennonite Brethren), who accepted and baptized members only after proof of their conversion. Both of these movements were partially fostered by influences operating upon the sect from without, and particularly by the reading of non-Mennonite religious literature. The founding of daughter colonies added also to the number of religious subdivisions. As the organization of the Mennonite church is highly decentralized or congregational in form, the daughter-colony churches tended to become independent of the mother churches both in administration and in spirit. The Bergthaler congregation, in particular, came in time to be recognized as a separate and advanced branch of the Mennonite church.

Other liberal trends began to appear in the area after 1840. A group of progressive Mennonites undertook to raise the standard of education and within twenty years they had established three teacher's training colleges in the colonies. The same group was largely responsible for the introduction of improved agricultural methods. As prosperity increased, certain members of the group became wealthy enough to purchase large estates outside of the villages, and the latter began to diminish in importance. At the same time vacant lands surrounding the Mennonite colonies had been filling up with settlers, considerable numbers of Russians were hired to work on the large Mennonite farms, and contact with the outside world steadily increased. It seemed, indeed, as if the sect were about to be swallowed up by the secular culture surrounding it.

The whole Mennonite situation came to a climax when the Czar in 1870 decided on a thorough Russianization of all his people. Exemption from military service was to be abolished. Local governmental autonomy must be replaced by direct control from St. Petersburg. Russian was to become the universal language of school instruction and German instruction was to cease. To the Mennonites these regulations, particularly those which concerned military service, were a direct assault upon their religious convictions. Sectarian fervour was rekindled, and from 1870 to 1873 delegation after delegation waited on the Czar and his ministers in the hope of obtaining some modification of the proposed legislation. In the end, significant concessions were obtained. Some German language instruction was to be retained in the Mennonite schools, and Mennonites were to be permitted to perform forestry service in lieu of military training. This brought a cleavage be-

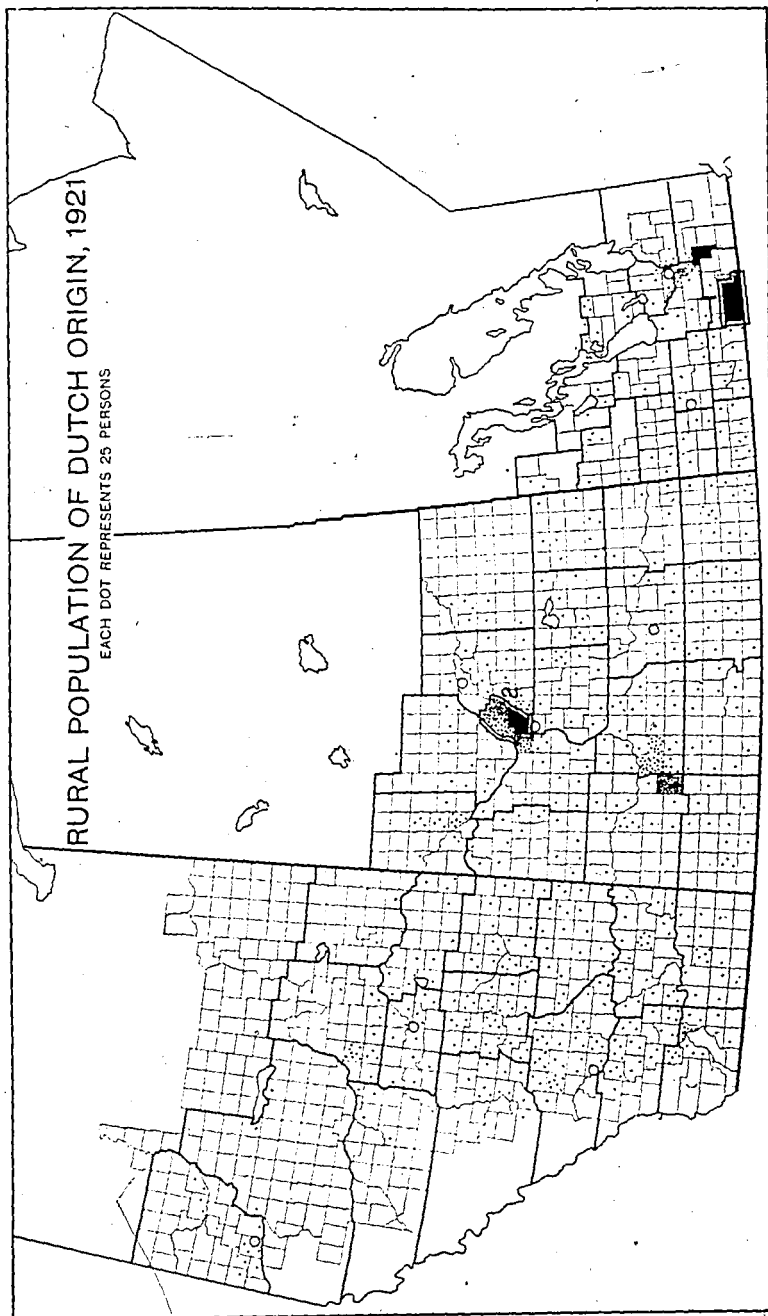


FIG. 16—Rural population of Dutch origin, 1921 (*Statistical Atlas*). Most of those classed as of Dutch origin are Mennonites. 1, Mennonite West Reserve; 2, Rosthern Mennonite Colony.

tween the majority of the group, who were willing to accept the concessions offered, and a minority of irreconcilable traditionalists, whose consciences would not permit them to make any compromise whatever.

This latter group, the most orthodox members of the sect and numbering approximately 15,000, looked for some avenue of escape from an intolerable situation. Hence in 1873 a number of delegates were despatched to North America to seek a suitable location for new settlements. They were instructed: (a) to secure fertile land at a reasonable price, (b) this land must be sufficiently isolated to make group settlement possible, (c) an attempt should be made to secure promises from the governments of Canada and the United States concerning liberty of language, education, and religion, and exemption from military service.

The delegates examined land on the western frontier from Winnipeg to Kansas. The land on the Canadian side did not impress them as favourably as that further south, but the Canadian government was willing to concede all their demands for sectarian freedom, while no similar concessions could be obtained from the government of the United States. This meant a certain selection of migrants to each of the two countries. Those who placed fertile land above complete sectarian freedom went to the United States, while those who insisted upon religious liberty at any price came to Canada. This meant that Manitoba received, for the most part, very conservative and orthodox Mennonites, although moderately liberal elements were to be found among them.

The movement to Canada was stimulated by an agent of the Dominion Immigration Department, William Hespeler, who during 1872 and 1873 travelled extensively through the Mennonite villages of Russia giving advice and encouragement to the would-be migrants.³ Financial assistance, largely in form of passage loans, came from widely scattered sources—Tolstoyans, Quakers, and Mennonites in other parts of the world, particularly in Ontario. The majority of the immigrants to Manitoba arrived during 1874 and 1875, though a slight trickle of migration continued until 1879. By that year over 1,400 families, largely from the daughter colonies of Bergthal, Borsenko, and Fuerstenland, had settled in southern Manitoba.

³ See also Volume II in this series.

4. *Migration from Canada to Mexico*

Conditions in Manitoba were strikingly favourable for the reproduction of the community organization which had characterized the sect in Russia. The Mennonites were in possession of a compact land area, within which they had complete autonomy concerning religion, education, and local government. They enjoyed a high degree of isolation and save for the French-Canadians along the Red River and a few scattered English in the Pembina Mountains, they had no neighbours. Nor were they in grave danger of being influenced by the culture of the small Canadian town; from the centre of the West Reserve it was 30 miles to Emerson or Nelsonville, and 45 miles to Morris, while the railway was several hundred miles distant.

Mennonite farm villages were established and land allotted to individuals. As a bishop and several ministers had come with the migrants, most of the villages soon had churches. A private school, too, was set up in each village almost at the beginning. Local government and agricultural coöperation on a village basis were other phases of the institutional structure of the area. After a few hard years, the economic status of the Reserve improved rapidly, and by 1890 the group was well on the way toward repaying the loans from the Dominion government and from private benefactors, who had made the migration possible.

However, the supremacy of the traditional culture was short-lived, for non-Mennonite settlers rapidly surrounded the Reserve. The coming of the railway brought the small Canadian town into the Reserve to compete with the village as a community centre. Public schools began to displace the private schools, and won increased support of the more progressive groups in the community. Canadian commercial facilities, governmental services, and other secular institutions sprang up. Canadian culture was diffused throughout the community through many channels, making it constantly more Canadian and less Mennonite.

This "peaceful penetration" of the sect by the "world" might have continued indefinitely had a crisis not been precipitated by Canadian educational authorities, particularly in the province of Manitoba.⁴ The Great War brought a violent reaction against

⁴ This crisis is bound up with the separate school question, which remained a vexatious problem in Manitoba from 1870 until the close of the war of 1914-1918. Conflicts between the provincial government and the Mennonites were only *one part of the larger issue* which developed as a result of the French-Canadian insistence on the guarantees in educational matters as laid down in the Manitoba School Act, 1870. Furthermore, the Mennonites maintained that the Dominion government (Continued on next page)

all things German, and military organizations and the press brought pressure to bear on the provincial government to suppress the teaching of the German language. Laws which were to eliminate the use of German in both public and private schools were enacted.

Conservative and progressive Mennonites alike were opposed to this edict. German was associated intimately with their religion, and the conservatives felt that if this language were lost the transmission of their faith to succeeding generations would be hindered greatly. The law, too, seemed to be in direct contravention of the privileges granted to them by the Dominion government in 1873. Schools, which had become public, were again made private by Mennonites, who hoped by this means to escape the full force of the law.

For some time the government pursued a policy of watchful waiting. When the trend toward private schools and the continuation of German instruction became clearly evident, however, more stringent laws were enacted. The establishment of a public school in every district was made compulsory. Where the residents of the district would not assume the function of school trusteeship, the Department of Education was empowered to act as an official trustee, erect a school, hire a teacher, and levy taxes upon the residents.

This positive action brought out a division of opinion in the Mennonite community. The more liberal groups, which had come to use English increasingly, could conceive of a separation between the German language and the Mennonite religion, and of the perpetuation of the latter without the former. Rather than bear the double cost of public and private schools they were willing to accept the new law. But to the Old Colonists, the loss of the German language was also a blow to their religion. They would make no compromises, and refused to coöperate in the new arrangement.

The result was that a number of schools, particularly those in

in a letter of July 23, 1873, had written as follows: "The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded to the Mennonites without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools." Some of the Manitoba Mennonites who took occasion to remind the Manitoba government of the above promises added that "we immigrated to this country wholly on account of having received the privileges given us by the Government" (quotations from a petition addressed to the members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Feb. 1919, by members of the Reipland Mennonite Church.) See also: Carl Wittke, *History of Canada* (New York: 1928); J. W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times* (Toronto: 1931); C. B. Sissons, *Bilingual Schools in Canada* (London: 1917).

the railway towns, passed peaceably over into the new regime, and were never in the hands of official trustees. In the Old Colonist villages, however, the government had to appoint official trustees, to erect school buildings, and to hire teachers. The attempt was made to secure Mennonite teachers wherever possible; but as the supply of qualified Mennonite teachers was too limited, Canadian teachers were frequently engaged. The fact that certain of these teachers were ex-soldiers intensified the ill-feeling already aroused.

There arose now the anomalous situation of schools erected and staffed by taxpayers' money but having no pupils. The Old Colonists continued to maintain a private school in each village, to send their children to it, and to bear the additional cost of the public school as a vexatious burden placed upon their shoulders by the government. A typical experience is that of Mr. N., a Mennonite, who became teacher in the public school at Altberghthal in the first year after the passing of the new School Act:

When I hoisted the flag on the first of September, there wasn't a child in school. The old people got together, fixed up a log cabin and hired a private teacher for the 45 children of the district. They paid him the same salary I was getting—\$80 a month. But I stuck to it and hoisted that flag every one of the 202 days but I did not have one pupil.⁵

Faced with persistent non-coöperation, the provincial government accepted the logical consequences of its position and took a final step. Legislation was passed making attendance at public schools compulsory and punishing by fines and imprisonment parents who refused to comply with the school law. There was an epidemic of fining in Manitoba during 1920 and 1921, and a half-dozen Mennonite preachers were jailed for a time at Winnipeg.

How was this crisis to be met? It was obviously both absurd and costly to continue paying fines year after year. The definition of their plight as "persecution" revived memories of migrations by which former group crises had been met. Many who in more tranquil times had almost forgotten that they were Mennonites had their fervour rekindled. Migration became the topic of the day. Emissaries travelled to South America, Mexico, and the United States. Everywhere they received promises of religious and educational toleration, and in the end, the majority of the delegates reported that the cheapest and most suitable land was to be found in Mexico.

⁵ Field notes. This and subsequent similar references are to the field notes of investigators of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee who visited these communities in the summer of 1932.

Again migration became a reality. There is evidence that religious leaders had become alarmed at the encroachments of Canadian culture in the Reserve and at the decline of their own influence, and that they desired the seclusion of a more isolated region. Other more secularly-minded men were interested in the movement: some had invested in Mexican real estate at a low figure and anticipated sizeable profits; others appear to have received promises of commissions from transportation companies if they could secure emigrants. The fact that the Old Colonists lived in village groups facilitated the spread of the movement through contagion and also made material preparation for the journey easier. Many villages lost almost their entire population through emigration. Eighteen families out of 29 left Blumenort, 20 out of 28 went from Reinland, and Rosengart lost 28 out of 30. Those who remained behind preferred payment of fines to the cost and inconvenience of migration, or decided to cast in their lot with the liberals and accept the new situation. Between 1922 and 1925 some 4,000 Old Colonists left the West Reserve in Manitoba.

The trend of events in Saskatchewan was similar. A news item of March 31, 1921, at Hague, Saskatchewan, stated that 60 Mennonites had just paid a fine of \$1,000 and that one had been sentenced to thirty days in the Prince Albert jail. But here the conflict was not so severe, since the Saskatchewan Old Colonists were not so completely sectarian in outlook as their Manitoba brethren. The Saskatchewan government, realizing the nature of the group with which it had to deal and the probable results of drastic action, was inclined to avoid a direct clash. The result was that the emigration from Saskatchewan was small, totalling approximately 1,000.

While the movement made possible a renewed life for the sect in Mexico, it dealt a death blow to the Mennonite sect in the Prairie Provinces. The sectarian "core" of the Mennonite communities was removed and large tracts of land in the very centre of the old Reserves were left vacant. These land were taken up, partly by those liberal Mennonites who did not migrate, and partly by new immigrants from Russia who were even more progressive in their outlook than the liberal Canadian Mennonites.

CHAPTER VI

ORIGINAL COMMUNITY PATTERN AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE MENNONITES IN THE PRAIRIE REGION

1. *Geographic Base and Population Elements*

THE Mennonite migration to the Prairie Provinces, like that of the Doukhobors, was the result of a crisis in the life of the sect in Russia. Further similarities between these groups are seen in the fact that both received financial help from benevolent outsiders, and encouragement and assistance from the Canadian government. On the other hand the settlement of the Mennonites differed from that of German Catholics in that it was not primarily a "promoted" movement, in the sense that individual families came in response to propaganda by land companies. Again, there was a contrast with French-Canadian settlement in that no *coureurs-de-bois* went ahead to open the way, no missionary priests pushed into unknown territory to establish missions. Moreover, the entry of the Mennonites was not a gradual process. The hitherto-empty prairie was occupied overnight, as it were, by thousands of Mennonites who had arrived with their wives, children, and household goods.

Two tracts of land were set aside by the Canadian government for the Mennonites; the "East Reserve" included 8 townships to the east of the Red River some 35 miles southeast of Winnipeg; the "West Reserve" comprised 17 townships west of the Red River along the international boundary. In order to unify our discussion we shall follow the fortunes of the West Reserve only. The form of this Reserve is indicated on Figure 17. Beginning some 6 miles west of the Red River, it extended westward 30 miles to within a few miles of the Pembina Mountains. From the international boundary on the south it extended north 18 miles. The area is level prairie land, devoid of native trees; the soil, a medium loam, is uniform throughout except for wet clay loam in the northeast corner and patches of light soil along the southern edge. The land is naturally fertile and almost every acre is arable. The annual rainfall (16-18 inches) and the growing season (150-170 days)

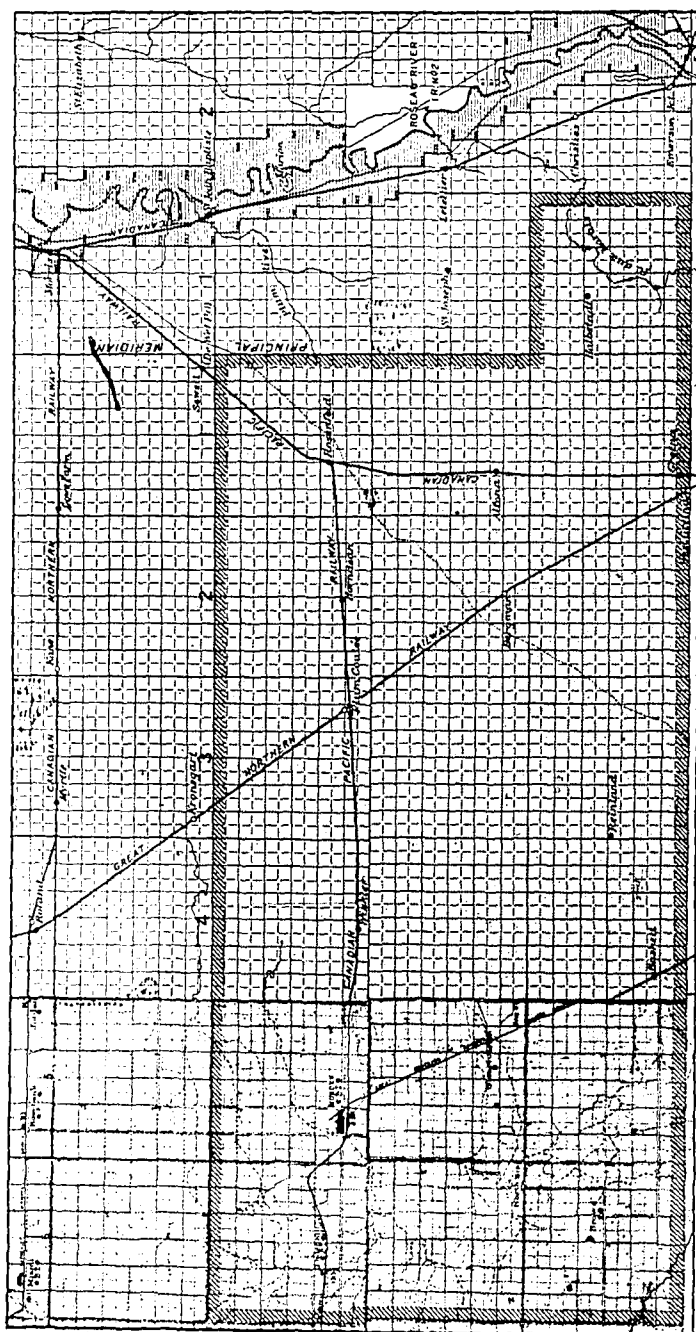


FIG. 17—Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba, showing (stippled areas) lands occupied by Mennonites, and (within ruled boundary) area used for statistical analysis.

are well suited to producing wheat and coarse grains. Noxious weeds are not unduly prevalent and grasshopper invasions, while they do occur, are relatively rare. The eastern and northern portions of the Reserve were most readily accessible from Emerson or Winnipeg. Wood and water were essential, however, and were most plentiful in the Pembina Mountains to the west. Accordingly the first settlement was made in the southwest part of the area. There, encircling the village of Reinland, some 40 other villages quickly sprang up. Their names are reminiscent of Russia (Chortitz, Bergthal, Halbstadt), or are of a descriptive character—Blumenort (place of flowers), Reinland (pure land), Neuhoftung (new hope). Since the farm village was central in Mennonite agricultural development and community organization, the latter part of this chapter will be devoted to its examination.

The isolation of the area has already been indicated, the nearest market was 80 miles away in Winnipeg and the nearest railway point was Moorhead, North Dakota. At Moorhead the migrants embarked on flat-bottomed boats and proceeded down the Red River as far as Emerson, where they left the boat and trekked westward across the prairie to their new home. The migration was of a distinctly communal type. Entire villages migrated, bringing with them their material possessions, their community leaders and institutions, and even their debts. The Bergthal colony, for example,

... decided that all would migrate, rich and poor alike. The rich were taxed a certain amount to pay for the passage across to America of the poor. All the debts owing to one another, and all mutual obligations ... would be transferred to their new home.¹

The original movement differed, then, in two respects from the majority of settlements on the pioneer fringe: (a) it was a migration of families, (b) it was, in addition, a homogeneous settlement, other population elements being almost non-existent in the area during the first decade. In facing the difficulties of pioneer life in a strange land, the Mennonites were left quite free to develop their own forms of community life.²

¹ C. H. Smith. *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1912), p. 96.

² Only very meagre census data are available for the Mennonite Colony in Manitoba previous to 1901. The 1881 Census for Manitoba—taken three years after the majority of the colonists had arrived in the province—gives the following information: The Mennonites in Rhineland, Stanley, and Morris municipalities totalled 6,682, including 3,627 males and 3,055 females. The resulting sex ratio of only 118 males per hundred females, gives quantitative evidence that family migration rather than that of adult males was typical of these Mennonites.

2. *The Farm Village and Agricultural Production*

The Mennonite village does not seem to have been distinctive of the sect, but was an adaptation of the Russian and Polish farm village. Each Mennonite village in Russia comprised between 20 and 50 farms of 60 *dessiatines* (about 175 acres) each. Land was divided into strips, and each owner's strips were scattered throughout the whole land-base of the village. These strips were frequently re-distributed in order that all should share equally in good and poor land. Tenure was individualistic in the sense that each man cultivated, reaped, and enjoyed the produce of his own land. There were, to be sure, certain common granaries for lean years and for the relief of the poor, and also common pastures and hayfields. These provisions, however, were very far from constituting a system of communism, and it was quite possible for great inequalities of wealth to develop. Thus, a group of wealthy proprietors did emerge, owning large estates apart from the village system. At the other extreme, growth of population, together with the custom that farms could not be divided on the death of the owner, produced an increasing number of landless persons.³ Unless these migrated to one of the "daughter colonies", they had to work for wages on one of the larger farms. The trend in Russia, then, was away from the original Christian brotherhood towards a type of community in which the large landholders were the most influential members of the church. Of course the growth of large-scale farming contributed greatly to the material prosperity of the Mennonites. By 1870 they were far in advance of their Russian neighbours in agricultural methods and farm investment.

In Manitoba they commenced farming with an equal distribution of land among all families. Village areas were laid out by the central authorities of the group and from 20 to 30 congenial families took possession of each of these areas. Since a householder was entitled to 160 acres of land, each village occupied an area varying from 5 to 7 square miles, and villages were seldom more than 2 or 3 miles apart (Fig. 19).

The form of the village may be illustrated by a description of Rosengart (Fig. 18) founded in 1875 immediately to the south of Reinland. Its 16 families took possession of a tract of land 2 miles square. House-lots were laid out on both sides of a section line near the centre of this tract and the result was a straggling village

³ This custom appears to be based on an agreement made among the Mennonites who first settled in Russia (see C. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

extending for a half-mile on either side of a broad main street. The village was at first composed of two parallel rows of mud huts; in time, however, frame houses and barns were constructed and trees were planted along the main street and around the houses. Four quarter sections, immediately to the south of the village, were set aside as a common hayfield and pasture where cattle were tended by the village herdsman. Each of the remaining 3 sections were divided into 16 strips and each family received a strip in each section, so distributed that all fared equally well as to quality of land and distance from the village.

This village arrangement had certain obvious disadvantages. It meant that each farm operator must travel somewhat farther to his work than would have been necessary had he lived on his own quarter section. There was the further inconvenience of each man's holdings being in 3 different sections. Yet during the period of pioneer economy, this form of settlement encouraged community coöperation in erecting houses, barns, mills, schools, and churches. It promoted the loan and barter of animals, seed, and farm equipment. Aid in times of distress was facilitated by the physical proximity of the pioneer dwellings. Common pastures and hayfields made for convenience and a saving of labour. In the absence of specialized economic services within the Reserve, the villages became centres for certain basic services; a steam flour-mill was built at Blumenort; Reinland and Rosenthal boasted wind-driven mills, and logs brought from the Pembina Mountains or from North Dakota were fashioned into rough lumber by village saw-mills. Country stores with a restricted range of commodities were established in very early days in Blumenort, Neuanlage, and Reinland, the latter village having at one time 2 such stores. Merchandise for these stores was hauled from Emerson.

VILLAGE OF ROSENGART

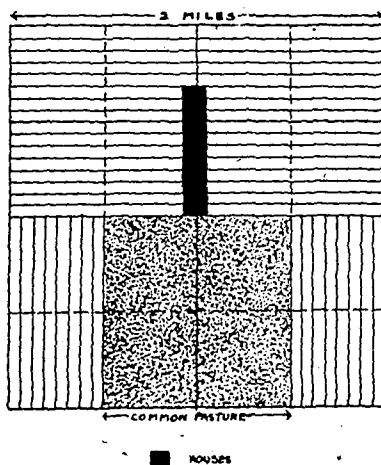


FIG. 18—The village of Rosengart. Note old-world type of farm village with surrounding fields divided into strips.

3. *The Farm Village and Social Organization*

Important as was the role of the village in relation to agricultural production, its greatest significance is undoubtedly found in the sphere of social organization. The village was the unit of church life, education, local government, and, since all were villagers, neighbourly relations were close and constant. During the years when there were few contacts outside their own villages, these old-world heritages suffered little modification.

Most significant of the traditional institutions established on the village base was the Old Colony church. Almost every village of importance had its unpainted frame "meeting house" in which Sunday services of a very simple nature were conducted. Men, clad in black coats, sailor-like trousers, and high-topped boots, occupied one side of the church; women in conventional dress-aprons and shawls filled the other. All innovations such as choirs, organs, and fervent preaching were frowned upon. Sermons of prodigious length were read monotonously in "high German" from manuscripts, but the uncomfortable, backless, wooden seats warded off drowsiness. Hymns were sung from staffless books which had done service for two centuries.

Naturally enough the Mennonites set up the local political system with which they were most familiar. The chief magistrate (*der Schulze*), and his assistant, were elected every two years by the landholders. An *Oberschulze*, with his office in Reinland, attended to matters of common concern to all villages. Each village had its elected herdsman, and its fire-overseer who administered a simple scheme of mutual fire insurance. The close connection of this local government with the religious life of the group is indicated by Smith:

The Mennonites approached a theocracy in their form of government. The elders of the church, though in no way organically connected with the control of temporal affairs, yet exercised great influence over matters of government, especially in the case of schools which were closely affiliated with the church. . . . Out of the frequent meetings of the elders grew an institution known as the Church Council, whose chief business was supposedly ecclesiastical, but which nevertheless often concerned itself with questions which today would clearly be classed as civil in their nature.⁴

It should perhaps be added that, since only well-to-do men could afford to give the time necessary to the performance of the minister's functions, these unpaid ministers were usually elected with an eye

⁴ C. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

to their financial status. Thus a class tinge was added to the theocratic government described by Smith.

Schools, under the general supervision of church officials, were soon established in most villages. The primary purpose of these schools was to perpetuate the German language and the Mennonite religion. The curriculum, therefore, was much the same as that followed in the old colonies in Russia. The teacher was, in most cases, a married man who lived in the teacherage near the school; his meagre salary, paid largely in kind, was supplemented by an income from his other occupations as carpenter, shoemaker, or perhaps cowherd. In keeping with European tradition, a teacher when once appointed usually remained in the same village for a long period. This practice, while it may have made for educational stagnation, gave permanency to the pupil-teacher relationship.

There were two main considerations in the orthodox sectarian's attitude toward the school. In the first place, he considered that a short period of formal education and a longer period of practical farm work served best to prepare the child for rural life. Back of this theory was the fear that too long a school period would weaken the child's attachment to the farm and the Mennonite religion. Secondly, he insisted that this formal education should be permeated with religious ideas, so that the school, as well as the church, would foster the sect's ideals.

[Our children] get in our schools just the schooling which is required by them in the rural life we lead. . . . We have the duty laid on our conscience to teach them both religious and secular truth as part of one whole, that they may be holy and good and loyal and diligent and unselfish and coöperative in all their relations to God and their fellow man. . . . Our schools are designed to fit the children to be good rural community citizens. . . . The result is that our people from generation to generation continue to lead the simple life on the farm and do not tend to go to the towns or cities. They are taught to be content with the country and we can truthfully say that they are.⁵

There was no distinction between spiritual and temporal affairs since church control entered into all spheres of life. Church members were forbidden to move from the villages into towns or onto individual farmsteads. Canadian fashions, modern houses, the English language, public schools, telephones, the holding of civic office, dancing, smoking, drinking—all these were "of the world" and must be shunned by all good Mennonites. Excommunication was still the final means of coercion. So severe was

⁵ *Memorandum re Mennonite Schools*, presented to the members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba by the Reinland Old Colony Church, Feb. 1918 (unprinted).

this penalty, that the threat of it alone was usually sufficient to enforce the precepts of the church.

By 1880 the sectarian community pattern may be said to have reached its fullest development in Manitoba. The Mennonite village still held to its customary functions. The wealth of the colony in livestock and buildings had increased rapidly and its economic future seemed assured. Life was simple and events moved slowly. There were no gatherings of a non-religious character, and no frivolity in dress, manners, or conduct. The impact of the outside world was too slight during this early period to disturb the even tenor of their rural life. Education spread no new and disintegrating ideas in the colony, and children grew up in strict obedience to the patriarchal pattern of family life. As one elderly Mennonite remarked: "They learn German and religion, they are baptized into the church, they marry at twenty and settle on a farm—all goes as smoothly as a mill."

The omnipotence of the sect, however, was short-lived. At the very peak of its influence processes were at work making for its decline.

CHAPTER VII

INVASION AND SUCCESSION

1. The Commercial Village Succeeds the Mennonite Village

THE first indication to the Mennonite community that it was part of a larger world came with the entry of the railway into the Reserve. The tide of settlement which swept westward over Manitoba after 1870 brought the railway to Winnipeg, and branch lines radiating from this centre were rapidly constructed. The Mennonite area, with its agricultural potentialities, could not avoid being drawn into this expanding transportation network. Commercial villages sprang up at irregular intervals along the railway lines, and some of them were destined to expand into towns of considerable size.

As early as 1882 the Canadian Pacific Railway line from Winnipeg to Morris was extended southward through the eastern part of the Reserve. The villages of Rosenfeld and Gretna appeared almost immediately, and in 1896 Altona sprang up midway between them. In 1883 the railway was extended west from Rosenfeld along the northern edge of the Reserve, and in the same year the old rural hamlet of Nelsonville was hauled to the railway, to become in time the present town of Morden. Along this railway appeared the villages of Plum Coulee in 1888, Winkler in 1892, and Horndean in 1896. The construction of a branch line south from Morden through the western portion of the Reserve was completed in 1907. These railway lines together with the international boundary to the south hemmed in the heart of the Old Colony on all sides.

Morden, at the northwest corner of the settlement, grew rapidly into an independent trade centre with hotels, a bank, and a newspaper. Its population being almost entirely English-Canadian, it became the main centre for the diffusion of Canadian culture throughout the Reserve. Among the "Mennonite towns" proper, Gretna and Winkler eventually assumed the lead, with Altona and Plum Coulee subordinate in size and trade. Rosenfeld and Horndean have never become more than small hamlets providing basic economic services.

The railway with its subsidiary commercial villages brought the

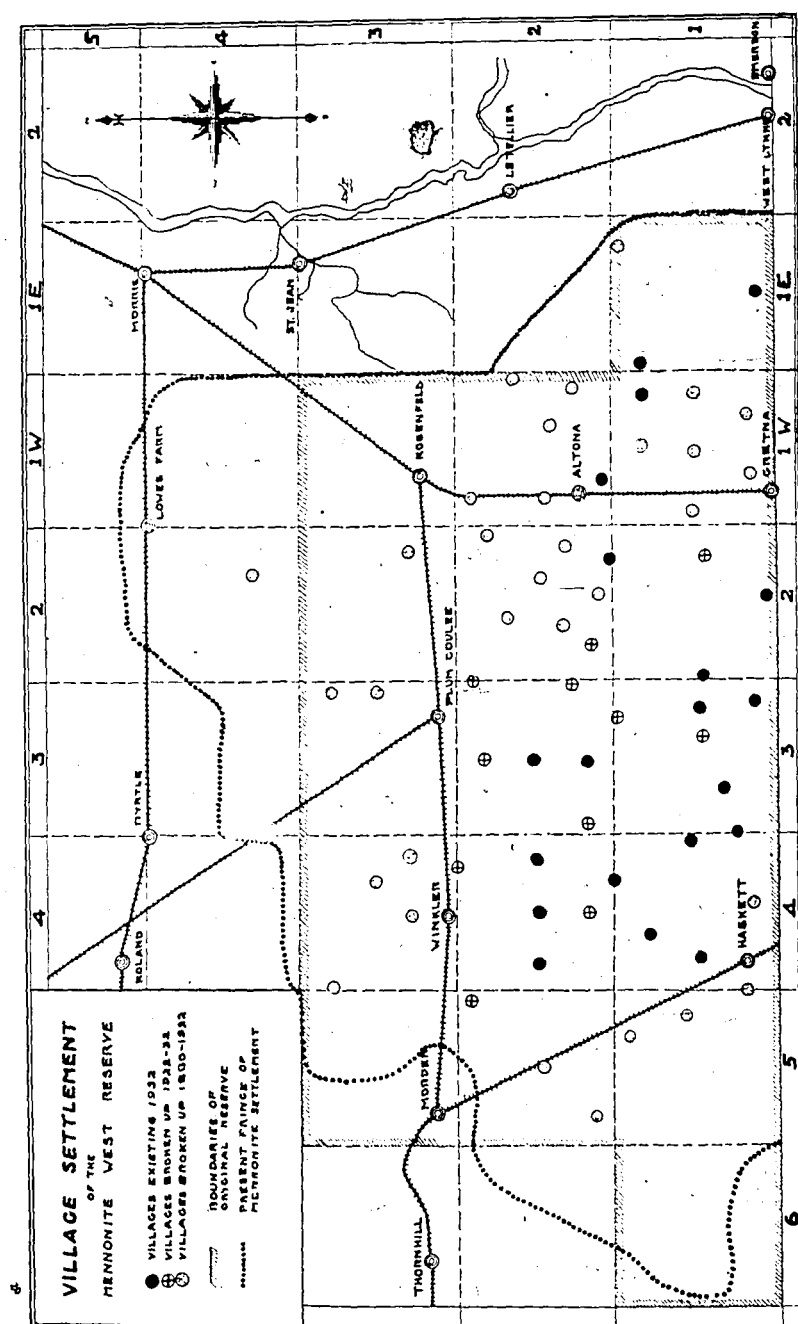


FIG. 19—Village settlement of Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba. Compare villages existing in 1932 with those shown on the topographical map of the same area (see Fig. 20).

economic life of the area in close touch with that of the rest of Canada. No longer was the Mennonite required to make a long journey over the "post road" in order to purchase farm machinery, lumber, and furniture; the railway brought these services to his front door. Through the grain elevators along the railway, his wheat and oats went to world markets, and Winnipeg became an accessible market for his butter, cream, and livestock.

The emergence of this wider economic integration was accompanied by extensive changes in community organization. New commercial centres on the railway displaced the traditional Mennonite villages as focuses of community life. The commercial services located in farm villages began to move into railway centres. The store at Neuanlage and the store and mill at Blumenort were transferred to Gretna. With the growth of Winkler, the mill and one of the stores in Reinland went out of business. Soon the largest churches and schools followed the economic services to railway points. Only the district schools and smaller churches remained in the farm villages.

The Old Colony church was not unaware of this disruptive influence and endeavoured to combat it; its members were forbidden to reside in any of the railway towns on pain of excommunication. Nevertheless many did move into growing towns like Winkler. They were duly excommunicated, but were able to associate themselves with more tolerant branches of the sect which, as we shall see below, were appearing at this time.

2. Expansion of Population and the Growth of Daughter Colonies

Outside influences such as those brought by the commercial town were partially instrumental in the establishment of farm homes on individual farmsteads. This trend was facilitated also by population pressure and consequent migration. This break-up of the farm village is one index of the process of secularization which had been initiated with the advent of the railway.

By 1880 the East Reserve had become so overcrowded that a considerable number of Bergthalers moved to the West Reserve. They settled the area east of the Rosenfeld-Gretna railway line, which was largely unoccupied at that time. While some settled in such villages as Bergthal, Sommerfeld, Neuanlage, and Altona, many others went directly onto quarter-section farms; they were the first individual farmers in the Reserve. The growth of population in the original villages of the West Reserve soon obliged the

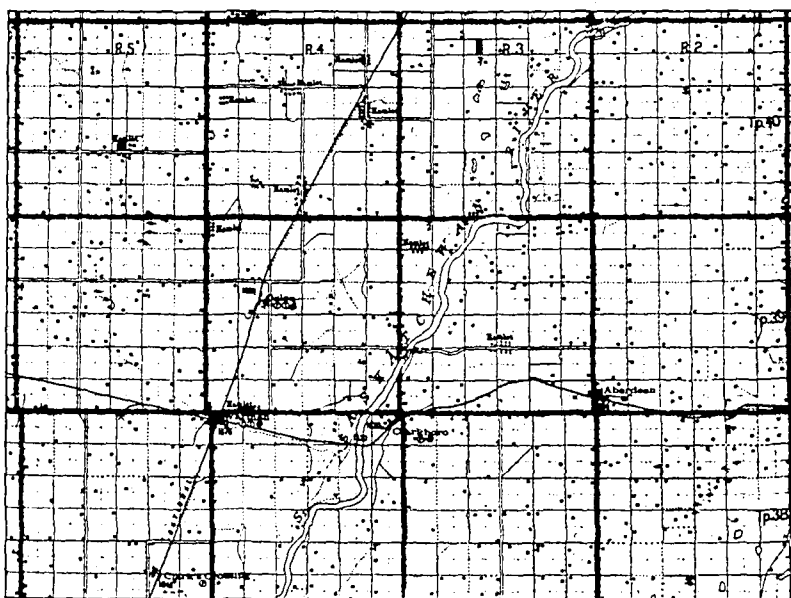
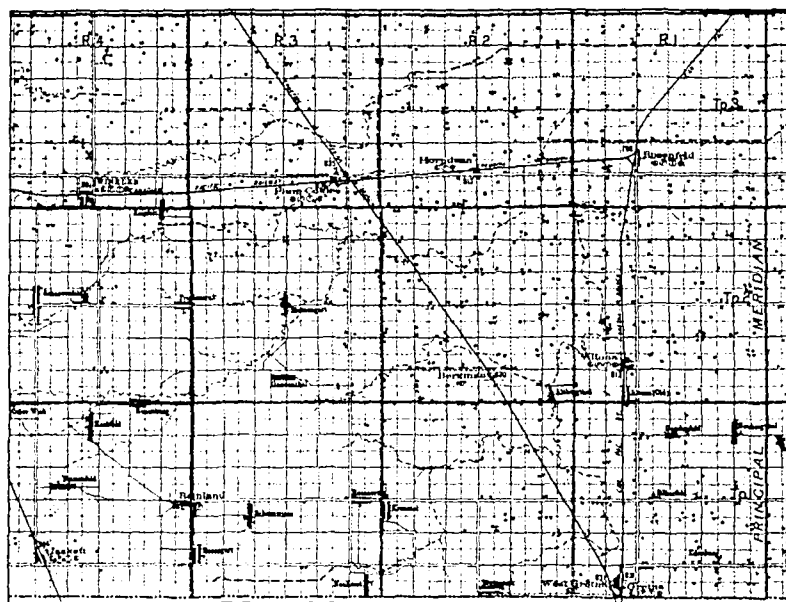


FIG. 20.—Topographic factors and distribution of buildings in an area, having a rural population density of 5-25 persons per square mile, in the upper Red River Valley (based on the "Sectional Maps" of the Topographical Survey of Canada). Note the agricultural villages of the European type.

FIG. 21.—Topographic factors and distribution of buildings in an area having a population density of 5-15 persons per square mile, northeast of Saskatoon (source as in Fig. 20).

younger people to look elsewhere for land. Many moved north into the Winkler and Plum Coulee districts, and despite the certainty of excommunication, they located not in villages but on open-country farmsteads. So rapid was the growth of population that by 1893 all the land originally set aside for Mennonite settlement was occupied. To secure land immediately outside the Reserve, however, was almost impossible. To the south was the international boundary, to the west the Pembina Mountains. The French-Canadians to the east, with families as large as those of the Mennonites themselves, presented a formidable obstacle to invasion; to the north, the land was held by speculators or was solidly settled. After 1893, therefore, the traditional expedient of "daughter colonies" was resorted to. Tracts of land were purchased in Alberta and Saskatchewan; young persons desiring farms were assisted to migrate to these districts and were provided with livestock and machinery. In return the Old Colony church of Manitoba took a first lien on the property, to be paid off as the new colonies established themselves. Village settlement was never as extensive in these colonies as in Manitoba, nor was the religious orthodoxy of the Manitoba Old Colonists ever quite recaptured. The largest and most important of the "daughter colonies" extend about Hague and Rosthern in northern Saskatchewan.

3. *Extension and Diversification of Services*

The institutional services utilized in the early period of Mennonite settlement were few and simple. One church and one school sufficed for a village; a saw-mill, flour-mill, and grocery store met basic economic needs. The bonesetter and the midwife looked after cases of illness and confinement. The Mennonite *Waisenamt* provided banking facilities, and the scheme of mutual insurance against fire and hail met emergency situations. These institutions, together with the simple machinery of village coöperation, constituted the formal social organization of the group.

The number and variety of institutions catering to the needs of the Reserve increased rapidly after the entry of the railway. Instead of one there were now many and more specialized stores. Canadian banks, insurance companies, and credit organizations competed with the traditional Mennonite financial institutions. Elevators, creameries, and flour-mills operated by Canadian companies entered to buy the produce of the Mennonite farms. Public

schools began to take the place of private schools. Villages frequently, and towns always, had more than one church, owing to the multiplication of sectarian subdivisions described in the next chapter. A few Canadian doctors established themselves in the Reserve and gradually gained a foothold at the expense of Mennonite bonesetters. Municipal government and various services of the provincial government, particularly in the agricultural field, were set up in or near the Reserve. To these were added dental and legal services, agricultural societies, and commercialized recreation.

4. Statistical Analysis of Recent Population Changes

Population growth and changes in the earlier years of the Mennonite settlement have been indicated descriptively in the immediately preceding pages. The main trends in population since 1901 may be most conveniently summarized by way of a quantitative statement. The following tables present the data for the old Mennonite colony—the so-called West Reserve in Manitoba, and for the “daughter colony” near Rosthern, Saskatchewan. The urban population in these areas is represented here by data from certain typical towns: Morden, Gretna, Plum Coulee, and Winkler in the old colony, and Rosthern, Hague, and Waldheim in the new. All of these towns and villages lie within the boundaries of the two colonies, except Morden, which, while outside the present Mennonite settlement, exerts considerable influence over it.

Table XXI indicates that the rural population in West Reserve¹ has remained at roughly 13,000 to 14,000 people since 1901, while the Rosthern colony (Fig. 16),² though growing at irregular rates, has nearly trebled its population during the last 30 years. The gradual growth since 1901 of the urban areas in the West Reserve gives evidence that the boom periods connected with railway development are long since passed. The urban decline of 18.8 per cent. in 1911 is largely accounted for by Morden, and is coincident with the building of a branch railway which reduced Morden's rural trade area to the south. But Morden still remains the dominant town of the colony, with 1,416 people in 1931; Winkler comes second with 1,005 people, while Gretna and Plum Coulee fall in the 450-550 population group. Urban growth of population in the Rosthern colony reflects the period of railway booms by

¹ West Reserve comprises the rural municipalities of Rhineland and Stanley in Manitoba.

² Rosthern colony comprises the greater part of Rosthern Municipality (No. 403) and Warman (No. 374) Municipality of Saskatchewan.

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5-year increases of 138 and 30 per cent. in the periods ending 1906 and 1911, respectively. The urban decline of 8 per cent. in 1921 is largely due to a population decrease in Rosthern during the first post-war depression. Subsequent increases show that Rosthern is holding its own as a larger trade centre in the daughter colony, just as Morden does in the old. Hague and Waldheim, the

TABLE XXI—RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION GROWTH IN THE MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA, AND ROSTHERN COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN, 1901-1931*

YEAR	MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA†				ROSTHERN COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN**			
	RURAL		URBAN		RURAL		URBAN	
	Number of Persons	Increase over Preceding Census (per cent.)	Number of Persons	Increase over Preceding Census (per cent.)	Number of Persons	Increase over Preceding Census (per cent.)	Number of Persons	Increase over Preceding Census (per cent.)
1901	13,148	....	2,973	....	3,052	....	475	....
1906	12,217	-7.1	3,063	3.0	4,614	51.2	1,131	138.1
1911	12,011	-1.7	2,487	-18.8	5,070	9.9	1,472	30.2
1916	13,314	10.8	2,802	12.7	7,207	42.1	1,712	16.3
1921	14,217	6.8	3,080	9.9	8,067	11.9	1,575	-8.0
1926	13,938	-2.0	3,336	8.3	8,447	4.7	1,928	22.4
1931	14,262	2.3	3,418	2.5	8,992	6.5	2,203	14.3

* *Census of the Northwest Provinces, 1906* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics) Table 1; *1916*, Table 1; *1926*, Table 5. *Census of Canada, 1931* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), Vol. II, Table 21.

† Rural data include Rhineland and Stanley Municipalities, Manitoba. Urban data include Morden, Gretna, Plum Coulee, and Winkler.

** Rural data include Watman (No. 374) and Rosthern (No. 403) Municipalities, Saskatchewan. Urban data include Rosthern, Hague, and Waldheim; the last is given only from 1916.

other two important centres in the new Mennonite colony, are slightly smaller than Gretna and Plum Coulee in the old Manitoba settlement.

The sex ratios for these colonies (Table XXII) are further indices of stable settlement. The trend towards a smaller surplus of males in the older rural areas as compared with that for the province of Manitoba, indicates relatively little movement of females from farms to urban centres. The familial type of settlement in Rosthern resulted in an almost balanced sex ratio during early years. But from 1916 on the period of railway expansion brought

in a great surplus of males. The trade centres in these colonies show typical urban sex ratios, that is, an excess of females, which is especially marked in periods of general population decrease.³

By way of summary it may be said that an optimum of population has been reached several decades ago in the Old Colony, but that expansion is still taking place in the Rosthern colony. A marked tendency towards a balance between the sexes in both colonies indicates that women are not as yet moving from rural to

TABLE XXII—THE SEX RATIOS FOR THE MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA, THE ROSTHERN COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN, AND THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, 1901-1931*
(Number of Males per Hundred Females)

YEAR	PROVINCE OF MANITOBA	MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MAN.†		ROSTHERN COLONY, SASK.**	
		RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
1901	119	111	102	103	117
1906	128	108	104	106	110
1911	121	106	92	106	111
1916	114	105	95	113	100
1921	111	104	98	111	99
1926	108	105	97	111	100
1931	111	105	99	111	100

* *Census of the Northwest Provinces, 1906*, Table 1; 1916, Table 1; 1926, Introduction Table 5 (Manitoba) and Table 5; *Census of Canada, 1931*, Vol. II, Table 21.

† Rural data included for Rhineland and Stanley Municipalities, Manitoba. Urban data included for Morden, Gretna, Plum Coulee, and Winkler.

** Rural data included for Warman Mun. (No. 374) and Rosthern Mun. (403), Saskatchewan. Urban data included for Rosthern, Hague, and Waldheim. Data for Waldheim are given only from 1916.

urban areas in appreciably greater numbers than are men. There is, however, a growing tendency for Mennonites of both sexes to become town dwellers, as witness their migration to nearby towns and villages.

To what extent the urbanizing influences of the greater Canadian community are reaching the rural Mennonites will be discussed in the next section.

5. Changes in Farm Economy

The farm economy of the original settlers in the Reserve was characterized by village residence, coöperative pasturing and

³ For evidence of this statement compare Tables XXI and XXII, especially the urban figures for West Reserve in 1911 and those for the Rosthern colony in 1921.

hay, the three-field system of tillage and the use of the three-year rotation practised by the group in Russia, a high degree of self-sufficiency, and the use of rather primitive farm machinery. During the past half century, the trend in all these respects has been toward the adoption of Canadian agricultural practices.

The abandonment of the farm village by later settlers in the Reserve and by younger persons who moved north into the Winkler district has already been mentioned. Toward the end of the eighties a number of the original villages abandoned the strip-farming system in favour of the Canadian quarter-section farm; some colonists went so far as to disband the village altogether and haul houses and barns out to their farms. This tendency set in first on the edges of the Reserve at Kronsfield and Gruenthal (near Haskett) in 1888, at Hoffnungsfeld (near Winkler) in 1889, at Neuanlage and Edenberg (near Gretna) in 1890. The Old Colonists, alarmed, passed a special ordinance forbidding such changes. The orthodox centre of the colony retained the village pattern, while fringe areas soon abandoned it. Another great wave of village disruption occurred after the migration to Mexico in the early nineteen-twenties. This movement robbed some villages of almost their whole population, including all of those most strongly attached to these village systems for sectarian reasons. Some 20 farm villages are yet to be found in the Reserve, but they have definitely abandoned strip farming and each operator cultivates his own quarter or half section. The break-up of the farm villages may be attributed to the passing of the pioneer period which had made them especially advantageous, to the penetration of the commercial village, to contact with Canadian farming methods, through agricultural magazines, to visits outside the Reserve, and to population growth and migration.

With the village went the common pasture and hayfield. The adoption of individual cultivation also paved the way for the entry of improved farming methods. The old three-year rotation—one year of wheat, one year of coarse grain, and one year of summer fallow—made way for the introduction of clover and grasses and of a more complex crop rotation. The ox and the walking-plough gave way to the horse-drawn plough and, in more recent years, to the tractor. Although sectarian views have greatly retarded the Mennonites' adoption of innovations in other activities, they have placed fewer obstacles in the way of their agricultural advancement.

Recent trends in size of farms and in land utilization for the Mennonite West Reserve are indicated in Table XXIII. While complete information on a municipal basis is available only from 1916, certain changes are apparent even in the following decade. While the total number of farms has increased slowly over the period 1916-1926, the averages per farm of total occupied acreage, improved acreage, and the area sown in field crops have all decreased. At the same time the total occupied acreage increased by 9,484 acres, and the total improved area increased by 34,932 acres. The inferences from the above figures are that larger farm holdings are being subdivided, that land hitherto considered

TABLE XXIII—TRENDS IN SIZE OF FARMS AND IN LAND UTILIZATION IN MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA, 1906-1926*

YEAR	TOTAL FARMS (no.)	AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS (acres)	IMPROVED ACREAGE PER FARM (acres)	AVERAGE FIELD CROP AREA (acres)	WHEAT		OTHER CROPS	
					Average Acreage	Per cent.	Average Acreage	Per cent.
1906	1,693†	...	...	139†	..	..	..	..
1916	1,852	221	161	127	72	57	55	43
1921	1,996	208	161	124	72	58	52	42
1926	2,202	190	151	125	62	50	63	50

* *Census of Northwest Provinces, 1906*, Table 27; 1916, Table 25; *Census of Manitoba, 1926*, Tables 97 and 98; *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. V, Tables 81 and 82. Rural municipalities of Rhineland and Stanley, Manitoba, are included.

† Incomplete.

marginal is being occupied, and that West Reserve farmers have continued to bring more and more of their pasture or waste land under cultivation. These trends are in keeping with the fact that the old Mennonite colony has had stable settlement for more than fifty years, and that there has been little chance for its surplus population to expand into neighbouring municipalities, since these too, have long since been settled.

The trends in land utilization shown in Table XXIII indicate that wheat, though still the major crop, is becoming relatively less important. Total field crop acreage is increasing, but there is a decrease in the average wheat acreage, and at the same time other crops, mainly oats and barley, are taking up more and more of the expanding crop area. It is significant, too, that the flax acreage has increased from over 5,000 acres in 1916 to nearly 15,000

acres in 1926. Flax grown for seed is well suited to the prairie soils in old settlements where the frost-free season is longer than in fringe areas, and it yields a relatively high financial return per acre. A further indication of diversified farming is seen in the fact that acreages for other than the three main cereal crops of wheat, oats, and barley, have increased by over 17,000 acres, or from 7.2 to 15.7 per cent. of the total field acreage in the decade since 1916.

The above trends indicate that the earlier self-sufficient type of farming has long since given way to a money economy, and moreover, that crop rotations are slowly changing to include larger proportions of hay crops, potatoes, and field roots.

As regards farm tenure, the 1921 Census indicates that 67 per cent. of the farmers of the West Reserve were owners, 15 per cent. owner-tenants, and 18 per cent. were tenants. Five years later there was a slight decrease in the owner group and a larger drop for owner-tenants, while the tenant proportion increased by 7 per cent. The 1926 proportions were: 65 per cent., 10 per cent., and 25 per cent. for the above groups in the order mentioned.⁴ The present agricultural status of the area may also be indicated by an analysis of the size of farms, principal crops, and yield per acre, as given in Table XXIV. The West Reserve is here compared with Roland and Dufferin municipalities, which form a neighbouring Anglo-Saxon settlement with similar soil and topography.

The size of farms in the Old Mennonite Colony is below the average for this part of Manitoba, being only 190 acres in 1926 as compared with 302 acres in the adjoining Anglo-Saxon area. This result can be traced fairly directly to the village pattern of settlement, which necessitated the subdividing of the area near the village, as the population grew.

Agricultural development of the West Reserve, as indicated by the proportion of the total acreage sown in field crops and the average yield per acre of wheat and oats, appears to be almost exactly the same as in the adjoining English-Canadian area. The agricultural representative at Morden reports that the use of power farm machinery and of methods of crop rotation is very nearly the same as in surrounding English-speaking districts. The religious beliefs of the group, while they banned automobiles as "hell-wagons", appear never to have interfered with the adoption of

⁴ See Appendix, Table III.

efficient farming techniques. Non-Mennonites provide unanimous testimony that the Mennonites are good farmers.

Wheat is the great "money crop" of the area; barley, oats, and hay are grown for feed, but little is sold. In the season 1931-1932, 1,500,000 bushels of wheat were shipped from the area, while the shipments of coarse grains did not exceed 100,000 bushels.⁵ Wheat growing, of course, occupies the major position throughout the entire southern part of the province. It appears to be particularly

TABLE XXIV.—SIZE OF FARM, PRINCIPAL CROPS, AND YIELD PER ACRE IN 1926*
(Comparison of Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba, with an Adjoining Anglo-Saxon Settlement)

DISTRICT	TOTAL FARMS	AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM (acres)	FIELD CROP AREA AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OCCUPIED LAND	PRINCIPAL CROPS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL FIELD CROP ACREAGE		AVERAGE YIELD IN 1925	
				WHEAT	OATS	WHEAT (bus. per acre)	OATS (bus. per acre)
Mennonite West Reserve†	2,202	190	65.8	50.0	18.2	16.9	29.0
Adjoining Anglo-Saxon settlement**	1,021	302	65.3	31.4	19.1	18.5	33.9

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926, Table 98.*

† Mennonite West Reserve includes Rhineland and Stanley Municipalities, Manitoba.

**Adjoining Anglo-Saxon settlement includes Roland and Dufferin Municipalities, Manitoba.

important in the Reserve, however; almost exactly half of the acreage of field crops in the Reserve in 1926 was sown in wheat, as compared with 31.4 per cent. for the nearby Anglo-Saxon settlement. The trend in this latter area appears to be definitely towards diversified farming, as is indicated by a proportionate decline of 20.8 per cent. in the wheat acreage between 1916 and 1926. This trend has indeed begun to affect the Reserve but it lags behind that of the adjoining districts. Livestock plays only a minor role in the area; the 12 farms studied had an average of \$1,066 worth of farm animals each, but this total consisted largely of work horses. The quality of the livestock is very mediocre and pure-bred sires are rare. The agricultural representative at Morden reports a change in this regard during the past two years, however; during

⁵ Based on estimates made by grain buyers in local elevators of the Manitoba West Reserve.

this period he has succeeded in introducing 15 pure-bred bulls into the Reserve. Since the decline of wheat prices some years ago, an increasing number of farmers in the area have turned to the shipment of dairy produce to provide ready cash. Winnipeg is the major market for this product, though some cream goes to the creameries at Winkler and Morden.

Another approach to the economic conditions of Mennonite farmers is made by analysing a sample of farm schedules collected in the area during the summer of 1932. The data are important, not merely for their own sake, but also because by comparison with those from other districts one gets some clues as to the achievements of different types of settlement. Table XXV provides an analysis of the main income and expenditure items for 12 Mennonite families in the West Reserve, and for 13 German families in St. Peter's colony, Saskatchewan. The Mennonite families averaged a total income of \$1,237 while the German families had an average of \$1,814. At least two factors must be kept in mind in attempting to explain this difference. In the first place, the St. Peter's colony, with about two-thirds of its cultivated acreage in wheat in 1926, is even more of a "cash-crop country" than the Reserve. The object is to grow as much wheat as possible, and purchase all the necessities of life at the general store. The Mennonite area, on the other hand, has never entirely escaped from the traditional self-sufficient economy—producing many of the necessities of life on the farm, buying as little as possible at the store, selling only enough produce to provide for these unavoidable purchases, and leaving a surplus for new investment. An economy of this sort naturally makes for a lower cash turnover each year. In the second place, many of the Mennonite farm tasks—threshing and harvesting, haying, construction, and repair work of various sorts—are performed coöperatively by the *Grossefamilie* or village group; the labour involved in these tasks would therefore not appear as cash income or cash cost of farm operation as it might in a more highly individuated society. The lower annual cash turnover of farms in the Reserve, therefore, may not indicate a lower productivity or a lower turnover of farm produce, but merely a lesser importance of money in the economy of the area, a hypothesis which accords fully with the traditions of the group.

In analysing our data on farm income and expenditure, the great shrinkage in values since 1929 must be kept in mind; information secured in the year 1932 is in no way comparable with that for

other districts secured in 1929 or before. Farm receipts yielded an average of \$960, or 77.6 per cent., of the total income for the Mennonite families, while the German group averaged \$1,489, or 82.1 per cent., of the total from this source. Other receipts, mainly

TABLE XXV—MAIN INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ITEMS OF FARM FAMILIES
(Sample: 12 Mennonites West Reserve Families, Manitoba, 1932, and 13 German Families from St. Peter's Colony, Saskatchewan, 1932)*

	MENNONITE WEST RESERVE MANITOBA		ST. PETER'S COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN	
Number of families.....	12		13	
Average number of adult units†	5.2		4.6	
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ITEMS	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.
Total Income**.....	1,237	100.0	1,814	100.0
Farm receipts.....	960	77.6	1,489	82.1
Other receipts.....	47	3.8	128	7.1
Increase in operating debts.....	118	9.6	158	8.7
Reduction in inventory.....	112	9.0	39	2.1
Total Expenditure.....	1,047	100.0	1,789	100.0
Farm expense.....	648	62.0	744	41.6
Cash family living.....	292	27.9	630	35.2
Investment expenditure.....	19	1.8	203	11.4
Interest.....	88	8.3	212	11.8

* Areas sampled include Rhineland and Stanley Municipalities, Manitoba, and St. Peter's (No. 369) and Humboldt (No. 370) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

† The adult unit is a device used to reduce family expenditures to a comparable basis. It is assumed here that two children under 17 years of age are equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs.

** Increased Operating Indebtedness, such as unpaid taxes, unpaid interest for current year, and bills owed for groceries and health, etc., are included here under income for the sake of balancing this item with total expenditure.

from labour outside the farm, added \$47, or 3.8 per cent., to the Mennonite income, while the German families earned \$128, or 7.1 per cent., mainly from custom work outside the farm. Another great difference between the two samples is seen in the methods of meeting deficits in a year of very low prices for agricultural products.

The Mennonites increased their operating debts, mainly unpaid taxes, by \$118, or 9.6 per cent. of the total income, while the Germans averaged \$158 per family, or 8.7 per cent. of their income for this item. Reduction in inventory, which includes sale of equipment, breeding stock or work horses, as well as accrued interest on mortgage or other loans averaged \$112, or 9 per cent. of the Mennonite income, but only \$39, or 2.1 per cent. of the German income. The above figures definitely suggest that the German families at St. Peter's fared much better than did their Mennonite colleagues in the West Reserve during a year of general depression.

If we turn now to the other side of the balance sheet, we see that the Mennonite families averaged a total expenditure of \$1,047, or some 59 per cent. of the corresponding figure for the German families. The proportionate distribution, which gives the better basis for a comparison here, shows that the Mennonites allotted 62.0 per cent., but the Germans only 41.6 per cent. of the total for farm and income-producing expenditure. On the other hand, Mennonite cash family living formed only 27.9 per cent. of the total expenditure, as compared with 35.2 per cent. of that for the German group. For the rest the Mennonites' new investment represented only 1.8 per cent., or about one-sixth of the corresponding German proportion. The amount of interest paid during the year is also considerably less for the Mennonites, 8.3 per cent. of total expenditure, as compared with 11.8 per cent. for the Germans.

The above figures suggest that the Mennonites have succeeded almost as well as the German families in balancing their budgets, although their income averaged \$577 less per family than the corresponding total for the Germans. The Mennonites succeeded in doing this by reducing their inventory, their farm expense, and their cash living costs to a considerably greater extent than did the Germans.

Against these figures we must set the fact that in normal times the tax assessment of Rhineland municipality alone is well over \$5,000,000, the annual levy of taxes over \$150,000, and the percentage of tax collections varies from 70 to 90 per cent. Bank deposits in the Reserve even in 1932 totalled some \$2,000,000, or over \$1,000 per family. Viewed from a long-run standpoint, there is no doubt that the district is very wealthy in proportion to its size and population. The sectarian pattern of group settlement

adopted by the Mennonites appears to have been a help to their material advancement.

The Mennonites have met the economic landslide of the past four years in two ways: firstly, they have curtailed their purchases sharply; retail storekeepers in the area report that their turnover in 1928-1929 was twice as great as that for 1931-1932. Secondly, they have resorted to traditional devices practised by the group during the pioneer period; many who bought flour in more prosperous times are now hauling their wheat to the mill to be ground, and millers in all the towns in the area report a great increase in their business since 1929; a large number are making their coffee once more in the traditional manner by roasting ground wheat and barley and adding chicory; fuel is being manufactured again from cow dung by ingenious home-made machines. The group, in other words, is reverting to an economy of self-sufficiency. All parts of the Prairie Provinces, of course, have been moving in this same direction during the past few years. The Mennonites, however, because of their traditional techniques are able to revert more quickly and painlessly than their Canadian neighbours, and there is no doubt that this adaptability is of great advantage to them in weathering periods of economic stress.

6. Trends in the Modes of Living

The preceding discussion has implied a certain transformation in the manner of living of the group, and it remains merely to point out certain features of this transformation in greater detail. The original food, clothing, and housing customs of the group were conditioned by three factors: (a) the poverty of pioneer life, which resulted in extremely simple modes of living; (b) the need to provide the necessities of life out of immediately available materials; and (c) their Russian village heritages. In all these respects, however, time brought changes. As the colony prospered and its cash income rose, a continuous increase in the number and variety of consumable goods was made possible. The coming of the railway brought the small-town store and the mail-order services; the Mennonite concentrated on cash-crop production as he came to use a wide range of goods produced outside the community. Russian traditions, too, tended to recede into the background as Canadian customs came to the fore. Agricultural magazines with their Canadian food recipes and house plans, together with the mail-order catalogue and the local store, proved to be other

instruments of cultural diffusion. A concrete statement of the present situation in the matter of clothing, food, housing, and health, will throw further light on the nature of the changes which have occurred.

Ordinary dark suits and overalls constitute the present dress of the men. For matrons, long dark dresses, head shawls, and bare feet are the rule in the villages, and to some extent even in the towns. Girls wear modern clothing and a number of the younger girls have progressed as far as beach pyjamas. Mail-order clothes are not extensively used as yet, most of the clothing being made at home.



FIG. 22—Mennonite home in a farm village near Gretna, Manitoba.

FIG. 23—Public school near Gretna, Manitoba.

Many of the traditional foods have been retained: *mauss*—wild fruits in a batter of milk and flour; *borscht*—a soup of sliced beets and other vegetables boiled with slices of meat; *apfelkuchen*—slices of apple cooked in dough; *rollkuchen*—corresponding roughly to the Canadian doughnut; and all sorts of biscuits, crullers, and pastry cooked in the large bake-ovens. Meat, vegetables, fruits, honey, butter, and eggs are obtained from the farm and prepared in traditional ways. Canned or prepared foods are rarely used and Canadian recipes are not extensively collected. The custom of dipping into one dish in the centre of the table is still followed by many families when strangers are not present.

The most characteristic housing tradition brought from the old world was the building of house and barn under one roof, separated only by a small connecting shed. All houses in the original villages were constructed after this pattern. With the breaking up of farm villages, many farmers abandoned their traditional arrangement of farm buildings. Houses recently built conform to the Canadian pattern. The use of paint has increased markedly since the emigration of the Old Colonists who banned painted buildings. The farmhouse of today is a frame structure of one and one-half



Fig. 24—Home of a well-to-do Mennonite merchant at Rosthern, Saskatchewan.

to two storeys, containing 4 to 6 rooms, heated by stoves. Electric lights and running water are unknown. Perhaps half the houses have cement basements and many have power washing machines. Fine groves of maple, ash, and willow shelter the farmsteads; gardens are large, well-kept, and contain fine displays of flowers, small fruits, and garden vegetables. Town houses are built in the Canadian fashion and are indistinguishable from houses in other small towns of the Prairie Provinces.

The Mennonites had their own health traditions. They did not believe that disease was infectious, but viewed it as a direct visitation from God, and would therefore not submit to quarantine. Nor would they undergo operations for appendicitis, viewing them as an unnatural interference with "the will of God". Trachoma had been introduced into the Reserve by the original migrants

from Russia and for many years it flourished unchecked because the Old Colonists refused to undergo treatment. In later years, however, the entry of several doctors into the Reserve, the educational work of the district health nurse, and the public health

TABLE XXVI—TOTAL LIVING EXPENDITURES PER FAMILY
(Sample: 12 Mennonite Families from West Reserve, Manitoba, and 13 German Families from St. Peter's Colony, Saskatchewan, 1932)

	MENNONITE WEST RESERVE MANITOBA		ST. PETER'S COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN	
Number of families.....	12		13	
Average number of adult units..	5.2		4.6	
ITEMS OF FAMILY LIVING	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.
a. Total Family Living.....	749	100.0	1,144	100.0
Cash living.....	292	39.0	630	55.1
Farm contributions.....	457	61.0	514	44.9
b. Main Items of Cash Living:				
Food.....	104	13.9	185	16.2
Clothing.....	84	11.2	227	19.9
Household operation.....	31	4.2	37	3.2
Automobile.....	12	1.6	34	3.0
Advancement.....	36	4.8	92	8.0
Health.....	25	3.3	55	4.8
c. Farm Contributions:				
Rent*.....	187	25.0	227	19.8
Livestock.....	67	8.9	86	7.5
Other farm produce.....	203	27.1	201	17.6

* Ten per cent. of the value of the house.

clinics have brought about profound changes. There are still six Mennonite bonesetters in the Reserve but the number of midwives is decreasing, and they remain only in certain of the rural districts. Now the majority of Mennonites submit willingly to quarantine, vaccination, and treatment for trachoma, but they retain a profound

distaste for hospitals and operations and will resort to them only in direst necessity. As in almost all rural areas, the use of patent medicines is widespread and the doctor is usually not called until the illness has reached an advanced stage.

In Table XXVI an attempt is made to measure the Mennonites' mode of living in quantitative terms. The German sample from St. Peter's colony, already referred to elsewhere, is used again for the sake of comparison. The 12 Mennonite families averaged \$749 for total living, or approximately \$400 less than the 13 German families, and this in spite of the fact that the Mennonite families are larger, 5.2 adult units, as compared with 4.6 units for the German group.⁶ This difference is largely explained by the fact that the Mennonites use only \$292 per family for cash items while the Germans spend \$630 per family, or more than twice as much as the former group.

The total contributions supplied by the farm are somewhat similar for the two groups, when stated in dollar values, but here, too, the German sample leads, with a family average of \$514, as compared with \$457 for the Mennonites. It is significant to note that the relative proportions of cash and contributed living costs are 39 and 61 per cent., respectively, for the Mennonites, but 55.1 and 44.9 per cent. respectively, for the German sample. This means that the Mennonites practised self-sufficiency to a much higher degree than did the Germans. An analysis of cash living for six main items indicates, as one would expect, a higher average figure for Germans than for Mennonites for most of the items. The German families spend almost three times as much as the Mennonites on clothing, advancement goods,⁷ and upkeep of automobile. Food expenditure and health costs of the Germans average almost double the corresponding amounts paid by the Mennonites. The one exception, household operation, averages the same amount for both sample groups. The chief expenditures here are for fuel and light, both necessities. The Mennonites live in a treeless country, while the Germans are settled in the park belt of the west; and hence are less handicapped in the matter of local wood supply. Some of the Mennonites reduce their cash fuel costs by hauling wood from the Pembina Mountains some 50 miles

⁶ The adult unit is a device used to reduce family expenditure to a comparable basis. It is assumed here that two children under 17 years of age are equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs.

⁷ Advancement goods include a variety of items, such as periodicals, books, magazines, education (apart from school taxes), fees to social organizations, fairs, other amusements, and finally personal expenditures by the head of the household.

away, while others burn cow manure which is compressed in a machine invented for this purpose. The percentage distribution shows further interesting differences between the two sample groups. Food and clothing form the largest proportions, 13.9 and 11.2 per cent., respectively, for the Mennonites, while each of the other items form less than 5 per cent. of total living. In the German group, clothing comes first with 19.9 per cent. and food second with 16.2 per cent. of total living. For the rest, advancement goods come next with 8.0 per cent., while the remaining items each range between 3.0 and 4.8 per cent. In passing, it may be noted that the low automobile cost for the Mennonites is probably due to lack of money rather than to an aversion to cars, since more than half of the families studied had one in their possession. The second aspect of rural family living is the part contributed by the farm in the form of rent, fuel, meat, dairy products, or other farm produce. In dollar terms the Mennonites derive less from the farm than the Germans, as regards rent and livestock, but the averages for other farm produce are practically the same. But in percentage terms, the situation is reversed. That is, the Mennonite proportions are larger than the corresponding German ones for all three items. The differences vary from 1.4 per cent. for livestock to 9.5 per cent. for other farm produce. In other words, the relatively low Mennonite proportions for cash items is compensated for by relatively higher percentages for farm contributions. If we add all food items, cash and contributed, together for each group, we find that they average \$374, or 50 per cent. of total living for the Mennonites, and \$472, or 41.3 per cent. per family for the Germans. Again the inference is that the Mennonites practised self-sufficiency to a greater extent than did the Germans. To what extent the total living costs of the Mennonite families are influenced by frugal traditions, and to what extent they are determined by general economic conditions, is, of course, still an open question. But it seems likely that the problem of living within their means during a depression year involved less change from former practices for the Mennonites than it did for the Germans. Moreover, the descriptive data already presented for the Mennonites suggest that they have gone only part of the way towards adopting Canadian modes of living in the matter of housing, clothing, and social participation.⁸

⁸ Two additional factors combine to make averages from the Mennonite sample lower than those for the Germans: (1) the modesty or evident reluctance of the former to give complete information on money items as compared with the almost boastful pride of the latter in both income and expenditure practices, and (2) differences in the two field-workers' bias which worked to the disadvantage of the Mennonites.

The conclusions from Tables XXV and XXVI are that the Mennonites are less prosperous than the Germans, if one may judge from the sample families for whom data were obtained. There are several possible explanations apart from those already given.

(1) The recent Mennonite exodus to Mexico removed many of the most prosperous farm families and left a large number of the less well-to-do farmers in Manitoba.

(2) The above Mennonite sample was collected in the least fertile section of the West Reserve. On the other hand, the German sample was taken in one of the best-developed districts of St. Peter's colony.

(3) The comparative advantages of the Germans over the Mennonites at the time of settlement should also be recalled here. It has been mentioned elsewhere in this volume that the Germans in St. Peter's colony brought with them both capital and farming experience acquired under western conditions, while the Mennonites came penniless from Russia, where both climatic and agricultural conditions differed greatly from those of Western Canada.

(4) It should also be kept in mind, that Mennonite traditions of self-sufficiency and their clustering together in solid "blocs" were factors which made for slower adjustment to large-scale farming and western money economy than was the case for the individualistic German settlers.

CHAPTER VIII

SECULARIZATION OF THE MENNONITES

1. The Impact of the Outer World

ABUNDANT evidence has been given that the Mennonite community of today is no longer the community of fifty years ago. We have watched the evolution of a new community pattern, the adoption of new agricultural techniques, and of Canadian manners of living. These are but accompaniments and indications, however, of a deeper change—the change from a theocratic community dominated by devout sectarians, to a secular community in which the church takes its place beside many new secular institutions. In this new situation the wishes of individuals are differentiated more sharply from traditional group objectives, and a wider range of utilitarian and hedonistic interests claim their attention. In spite of the initial solidarity of their isolated rural settlement, the Mennonites have not been able to shut out worldly influences. These latter continue to enter the sectarian citadel at front and rear, bewildering and grieving the old, emancipating and individuating the young.

The fringe of the Mennonite settlement is not as important in the diffusion process as one might expect. In many respects the line between Mennonite and non-Mennonite is drawn sharply; the English farmer on the northern fringe of the district trades in Roland, Myrtle, or Morden, while his Mennonite neighbour goes to Winkler or to Plum Coulee. There is little antipathy or co-operation, for there is little contact. The most noticeable effect of these conditions is upon the Mennonite child who associates with English children in the public school, and acquires the use of the English language in the process. As one teacher remarked, "It is natural for progress in the use of English to be made more quickly on the edge of the community—the force of public opinion is in that direction. In the centre, you are considered strange if you speak English; on the edge you are considered strange if you speak *Plattdeutsch*."

Residence on the fringe may, however, under certain circumstances, produce a high degree of cultural disintegration. An

extreme case of such disintegration is evidenced in that group of Mennonite drifters known as the "one-sixers". Their parents settled at the western edge of the Reserve in Township 1, Range 6. Here the marginal, hilly land facilitated an early break from the pattern of village settlement and the acquisition of wandering habits. Interaction with English, Ukrainian, and Scandinavian settlers in the same district appears to have intensified this wandering disposition and contributed to the alienation of the group from the Mennonite church. A number of "one-sixers", after roaming over a large part of Saskatchewan, have temporarily come to rest on the western fringe of the Rosthern settlement, just across the North Saskatchewan River from Hepburn, where they eke out a poor living from the soil. One of their neighbours remarked, "When they decide to move, they just load their chickens in a barrel, put their children in the front seat of the wagon, tie the cows behind, and they're gone."

Only a minority, however, who live on the geographical fringe of the community are subjected to processes of this sort. The cultural margin which every member of the community must meet is found in the railway town. A certain number of English-speaking Canadians reside in these towns, with the result that the Mennonite frequently finds himself listening to the English language and to Canadian ideas. The banker interprets to him the Canadian views on banking and credit; the doctor lectures him on Canadian standards of health; the merchant familiarizes him with the attitudes typical of a money economy. He and his children cannot escape the English language. The principal of the Gretna High School commented, "No matter how much a teacher tells the children to speak English, if there are no English children around to practise it with they won't do it." Except on the fringe mentioned above, *Plattdeutsch* will remain longer in the country than in the town for this reason. The small town is on the railway, and the daily train is a recurrent reminder of the outer world. It brings English daily newspapers, occasional salesmen or other visitors from the city, merchandise with English labels and English invoices. Also the railway carries the young people away to normal school or university, and bears the older residents on their rare sorties outside the Mennonite settlement. The conduct of the English-Canadian residents of the town has its inevitable repercussion on Mennonite folkways. As yet there is little social life in common between the two groups, for the Mennonites do not mingle with their

English-speaking neighbours in social evenings or at bridge. But they "see how these English people do things" and in time unconsciously alter their own ways.

The town is the focus of secular organization and the increasing ascendancy of the town over the farm village has brought about a gradual displacement of religious by secular forms of social organization. The most progressive members of the Mennonite group—teachers, leading business men, and other organizers—reside in town; they are in constant touch with the thought of the Canadian community and endeavour to weave it into their local life. Canadian institutions make their first appearance in the Mennonite community by way of the town; it is there that we first find branches of provincial and Dominion organizations—the Boy Scouts, Tuxis, Canadian Girls in Training, the Women's Institute, the Manitoba Teachers' Federation, the Manitoba Consumers' Co-operative Association, the Junior Red Cross, the Seed Growers' Club, and the Agricultural Society. These institutions do not win acceptance without severe struggle. The Plum Coulee Women's Institute is a typical case; organized by non-Mennonite women of the town, it was for a time strenuously opposed by Mennonite residents, who endeavoured to prevent it from using the school building for meetings. This active opposition, however, has now changed to passive acceptance and Mennonites make no protest when the Institute trains their children for school festivals to be held outside the area. While the Institute makes a practice of inviting Mennonites to social affairs, it is the younger people who accept, and it seems likely that in time a number of them will join this organization. Years of agitation were necessary to induce the Winkler town council to allow the entrance of the Manitoba Hydro-Electric, or to persuade the council of Rhineland municipality to vote for the appointment of an agricultural representative at Morden.

A further index of culture changes in the Mennonite settlements is obtained by studying the ethnic backgrounds of the general population. The numerical importance of Mennonites as compared with that of other settlers, the varying rates of growth of the principal population elements, and the drift of people from farms to commercial centres can all be inferred from census data.

The analysis of ethnic (or racial) and religious composition of the two colonies is complicated by the migratory background of the settlers. This is evidenced by the fact that Mennonites have

at different times called themselves German, Dutch, or Russian. Up till the end of the War, the Mennonites are reported as Germans in the Manitoba census, but in 1921 there was an almost complete swing over to Dutch origin, doubtless a result of the anti-German feeling which then prevailed in Western Canada. In the "daughter colony" we find that Mennonites, in Hague and Waldheim particularly, recalled their Dutch ancestry, while a large proportion of those in the town of Rosthern called themselves Russian. Little reliance can be placed, therefore, on Table XXVII in which an attempt is made to classify the population of the Mennonite colonies in four main ethnic groups. But the table at least shows the importance of British elements, and of the group headed "Others" (in this case Scandinavian, French, and a number of Jews). Since 1921, these groups have formed minorities of 3.8 to 4.1 per cent. and 2.7 to 3.0 per cent., respectively, of the rural people in the West Reserve, and in Rosthern colony their proportions are still larger, that is, 7.5 to 5.6 per cent. for British and 8.1 to 3.6 per cent. for "Others". At present the vast bulk of the rural population, that is, 91 to 93 per cent. of the total, is Dutch, German, Slavic, or various mixtures of these three ethnic groups. It means, moreover, that the rural Mennonites in Manitoba are still holding their own after more than half a century of settlement, and that the Dutch and Germans are expanding at an equal or greater rate than other ethnic groups in Rosthern rural areas. It is to urban areas, then, that we must look for changes in ethnic composition. The total figures in Table XXVII indicate that the British element, and also that classified as "Others" are losing ground to the Dutch-German and the Slavic groups. The proportionate strength of these minority groups and the rate at which they are being outnumbered varies widely for different centres. In Morden, Manitoba, the British proportion dropped from 60 to 48 per cent. of the total population during the period 1911-1931. At the same time, the Dutch-German and Slavic groups together have increased from 17.9 to 39.6 per cent. of the general population. Smaller centres within the colony, like Gretna, Plum Coulee and Winkler, have always had smaller British proportions, for example, 19.7 per cent. for Gretna, 6.3 per cent. for Plum Coulee, and 2.8 per cent. for Winkler in 1911. These British minorities, however, are decreasing in proportionate numbers in the small towns. A gradual decrease in percentages also applies to the British and "Others" group in the urban areas of the Rosthern colony, although in absolute numbers this is only true for the British group.

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TABLE XXVII—PRINCIPAL ETHNIC ORIGINS OF MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA, AND ROSTHERN COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN, 1911-1931*

ETHNIC GROUPS	1911		1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.
a. Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba—Rural areas†						
Total Population.....			14,217	100.0	14,262	100.0
British.....			539	3.8	591	4.1
Dutch—German.....			12,244	86.1	11,224	78.7
Slavs.....			1,046	7.4**	2,016	14.2
Others.....			388	2.7	431	3.0
b. Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba—Urban areas†						
Total Population.....	2,487	100.0	3,080	100.0	3,418	100.0
British.....	817	32.9	875	28.4	800	23.4
Dutch—German.....	1,201	48.3	1,872	60.8	1,863	54.5
Slavs.....	54	2.2	89	2.9	493	14.4
Others.....	415	16.6	244	7.9	262	7.7
c. Rosthern Colony, Saskatchewan—Rural areas:††						
Total Population.....			8,067	100.0	8,992	100.0
British.....			607	7.5	505	5.6
Dutch—German.....			6,109	75.7	7,559	84.1
Slavs.....			705	8.7	602	6.7
Others.....			646	8.1	326	3.6
d. Rosthern Colony, Saskatchewan—Urban areas:††						
Total Population.....	1,472	100.0	1,575	100.0	2,203	100.0
British.....	300	20.4	212	13.5	249	11.3
Dutch—German.....	1,017	69.1	369	23.4	1,702	77.3
Slavs.....	55	3.7	873	55.4***	123	5.6
Others.....	100	6.8	121	7.7	129	5.8

* *Census of Canada, 1911* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), Vol. II, Table 7; 1921, Vol. I, Table 27; 1931, Bull. No. XXII, Table 3.

† Rural areas include Rhineland and Stanley Municipalities, Manitoba. Urban areas include Morden, Gretna, Plum Coulee, and Winkler.

** Slavic group here includes Poles, Russians, Austrians, and Ukrainians.

†† Rural areas include Warman (No. 374) and Rosthern (No. 403) Municipalities, Saskatchewan. Urban areas include Rosthern, Hague, and Waldheim.

*** It is probable that a large proportion of the Mennonites who reported themselves as Russians in 1921 returned to the Dutch German group in 1931.

The numerical strength of the Mennonite people is best seen, however, by an analysis of the principal religious groups in the two colonies studied. In 1931 the Mennonites comprised 84.4 per cent. of the rural population in the West Reserve. They were not all Dutch-Germans since this group formed only 78.7 per cent. of the general population. The difference between the two proportions is probably accounted for by Slavs who formed 14.2 per cent. of the general population in 1931, and who, judging from figures in Table XXVIII could not all be either Roman Catholics or members of the group called "Other Protestants". Besides, a number of the Dutch-Germans are Lutherans, as may be inferred from the fact that the latter totalled 1,088 persons, and that Scandinavians account, at most, for only 242 of the Lutherans.

In rural parts of the Rosthern colony a different situation exists. Here the Dutch-Germans comprise 84.1 per cent. of the total population, but the Mennonite sect only 74.3 per cent. A large number of Dutch-Germans must therefore be followers of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, or other religious groups. On the other hand, it is also likely that the Slavs, who form 6.7 per cent. of the rural population in Rosthern contribute some members to the Mennonite sect.

At present the Mennonites comprise more than four-fifths of the rural population in the Manitoba colony, and nearly three-quarters of the people in the newer settlement. During the last decade, rural Mennonites in the West Reserve have decreased slightly, both in absolute numbers and in proportion to the other religious groups. This loss to the rural areas has been a gain to the urban centres, as shown by proportionate increases from 39.4 to 47.1 per cent. for the towns studied here over the same period. In Rosthern colony, the rural Mennonites show proportionate increase since 1921, even though there is a marked urban trend, as evidenced by a proportionate increase of 10.5 per cent. of urban Mennonites for the same period. This growth of the Rosthern Mennonite group is due in part to a large natural increase but also to the arrival of Mennonites from the older settlements in Manitoba, and to some post-war migration from Russia.

The remaining religious groups: Roman Catholic, Lutherans, and other Protestants are, of course, numerically insignificant in the rural areas, although they have shown slight increases during the last decade. In the urban centres, however, the dominant Protestant element is gradually declining in favour of the Mennonites.

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TABLE XXVIII—PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA, AND ROSTHERN COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN, 1911-1931*

RELIGIOUS GROUPS	1911		1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.
a. Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba—Rural areas:†						
Total Population.....			14,217	100.0	14,262	100.0
Mennonites.....			12,374	87.0	12,038	84.4
Roman Catholics.....			93	0.7	178	1.3
Lutherans.....			996	7.0	1,088	7.6
Other Protestants.....			681	4.8	824	5.8
All others.....			73	0.5	134	0.9
b. Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba—Urban areas:†						
Total Population.....	2,487	100.0	3,080	100.0	3,418	100.0
Mennonites.....	547	22.0	1,213	39.4	1,611	47.1
Roman Catholics.....	214	8.6	219	7.1	179	5.3
Lutherans.....	451	18.1	476	15.5	478	14.0
Other Protestants.....	1,100	44.2	1,023	33.2	1,029	30.1
All others.....	175	7.1	149	4.8	121	3.5
c. Rosthern Colony, Saskatchewan—Rural areas:**						
Total Population.....			8,067	100.0	8,992	100.0
Mennonites.....			5,834	72.3	6,682	74.3
Roman Catholics.....			318	3.9	802	8.9
Lutherans.....			668	8.3	741	8.2
Other Protestants.....			650	8.1	664	7.4
All others.....			597	7.4	103	1.2
d. Rosthern Colony, Saskatchewan—Urban areas:**						
Total Population.....	1,472	100.0	1,575	100.0	2,203	100.0
Mennonites.....	554	37.6	741	47.1	1,268	57.6
Roman Catholics.....	119	8.1	177	11.2	259	11.8
Lutherans.....	270	18.3	281	17.8	272	12.3
Other Protestants.....	282	19.2	278	17.7	332	15.0
All others.....	247	16.8	98	6.2	72	3.3

* *Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. II, Table 2; 1921, Vol. I, Table 38; 1931, Bull. No. XXI, Table 7.*

† Rural areas include Rhineland and Stanley Municipalities, Manitoba. Urban areas include Morden, Gretna, Plum Coulee, and Winkler, Manitoba.

** Rural areas include Warman (No. 374) and Rosthern (No. 403) Municipalities, Saskatchewan. Urban areas include Rosthern, Hague, and Waldheim, Saskatchewan.

The small town is being taken over by the Mennonites themselves. Between the years 1911 and 1931 the percentage of Mennonites in the towns of Morden, Gretna, Plum Coulee, and Winkler together increased from 22.0 to 47.1. The English, German Lutherans, and Jews who formed the original urban population of the Reserve are being outnumbered by Mennonites who are growing more favourably disposed towards town residence. A class of Mennonite small-townsmen is coming into existence, very different from the pious villagers of sixty years ago, and very different from their country cousins of today—quicker in thought, speech, and action, more given to the English language and to Canadian customs and more liberal in matters of religion. The older people of the town are not averse to change provided that it does not come too quickly. Townsmen have relatives in the country whom they visit, these relatives in turn come to town to trade, and thus learn something of what the town is thinking and doing. In this way the life of the outer world, as evidenced in the town, is radiated throughout the community.

The role of the school in cultural transformation, discussed more fully below, may be sketched briefly here. Its importance arises from its strategic position as the major bearer of culture to successive generations. The history of Mennonite schools since 1918 reveals a steady increase in the preponderance of Canadian over sectarian culture, both in the school curriculum and in the attitude of the teachers. Most of these teachers are Mennonites, born in the Reserve, and they are the most emancipated group in the area and the most active organizers of new projects. Their influence extends not only to the children in their charge but to the parents through parent-teacher associations, school concerts, and school meetings. During their normal school training outside the Mennonite settlement they have become accustomed to Canadian ways which they bring back, in part, to their native districts.

The school has become the nucleus of Canadian agricultural, athletic, and literary organizations where young people participate in competitive games, debating, dramatics, and other departures from Mennonite traditions. Here, too, innovation is accompanied by conflict. One rural teacher in Saskatchewan, in spite of the protests of trustees, introduced softball into the school. The next year she endeavoured to hold competitive games with neighbouring schools, but the outraged trustees suppressed the playing of softball altogether. The teacher occasionally wins, however, and a primary

teacher in the Altona high school, warned by a trustee that unless she discontinued her leadership of a pack of Brownies she would not be re-engaged, was upheld by the school board and allowed to continue this activity.

Governmental services gain gradual entrance to the area, at first opposed, later tolerated and, if they prove of material economic benefit, eventually accepted. Mennonite farmers visit the Dominion Experimental Station at Morden and get new ideas of farming. The agricultural representative, the school inspector, and the district health nurse, from their base in the town, travel through the Reserve and suggest and explain Canadian methods. The Extension Service of the provincial government gradually organizes its girls' and women's clubs in the schools and towns. The Department of Municipal Affairs watches solicitously over the municipal finances. The Department of Agriculture sends quantities of poison to combat the grasshopper plagues which invade the Reserve periodically. All these services are links which consciously and unconsciously bind the Mennonites to their neighbours and in time transform old customs and attitudes.

The Community Progress Competition,¹ conducted by the Canadian National Railways, has influenced Manitoba and Saskatchewan communities during recent years. The Edenthal district near Gretna was successful in winning first prize for Manitoba in 1931 and the Laird district obtained first prize for Saskatchewan in 1932. These successes were not obtained without strenuous community effort. The Edenthal district entered the competition in 1930 with little knowledge or interest and the judges were received very coolly by local farmers. The criticisms of the farmers, however, stirred the community to action; a capable president and a secretary were elected and the district began to work in earnest. During the next year certified seed was introduced for the first time; sweet clover, alfalfa, and a rotation of crops were begun; experiments in the cultivation of sugar-beets were conducted; 11 pure-bred bulls were brought into the area. Agricultural information was also disseminated through newly organized junior seed growers', poultry, and gardening clubs. Children in all 5 schools in the district joined the Junior Red Cross

¹ This competition was inaugurated by the Canadian National Railways in 1929. It was designed to stimulate the economic and cultural development of foreign communities in the Prairie Provinces. A board of eminent judges visit the communities and grade them by an elaborate system of scoring, on their agricultural practices and progress, on their handicrafts and art, and on their community activities in education and recreation. See, in this series, Vol. II, Part II.

and each school instituted a sewing club with the assistance of the Extension Department. Three sewing circles for older women and two literary societies with programmes in German and English were established. Some 18 community business meetings were held in Edenthal school during the winter to discuss problems connected with the competition. An agriculturalist from Winnipeg gave lectures on gardening at these meetings. Schools were improved, wells dug, trees planted, buildings painted, and playgrounds extended. These efforts brought a first prize to the district in the following year. It seems safe to say that the activities initiated during the year will continue long after the competition itself is forgotten.

The young man who has lived outside the Mennonite area for a time brings back to it a different outlook on life. From 15 to 20 young men have gone from the West Reserve to attend the provincial university at Winnipeg, and a like number are in attendance at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. While few of these men return to the Mennonite settlements after completing their education, those who have returned are now prominent leaders in the community. A much larger number of young people attend the provincial normal schools in Winnipeg and Saskatoon and almost all of these return as teachers to the Mennonite schools, bringing with them Canadian standards in education and modes of living.

Many of the daughters of the newly-arrived Mennonites work in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and other centres as domestic servants. They also have grown accustomed to Canadian homes, fashions of dress, and amusement, and have introduced changes in these respects to the Mennonite area. Many young men also have gone to work on farms or in towns outside of the area. The majority of them return and since 1929 the general scarcity of positions has caused this return flow to be particularly great. On their return they have displayed their acquaintance with Canadian customs in food, clothing, language, and amusements.

The press and politics have only recently become important channels of cultural diffusion. The circulation of Winnipeg and Saskatoon daily papers in the Mennonite settlements is restricted to a few scattered subscribers in the towns. The English "small-town papers" published in the areas are little better off. The *Morden Times* has less than 100 Mennonite subscribers out of a total subscription list of 600; and the proportion of Mennonites in

the circulation of the *Rosthern News* is similar—1 out of 6. Canadian farm journals, however, have a wide circulation in the community, and the *Free Press Prairie Farmer*, the *Nor'-West Farmer*, the *Country Guide*, and similar magazines are found in most of the farm homes. Along with the agricultural information which they contain and which is the primary reason for their purchase, they convey other items of Canadian culture to their Mennonite readers.

Election campaigns bring to the Reserve meetings at which provincial and federal affairs are discussed; in recent years attendance at these meetings and the number of Mennonite votes cast has increased markedly. Only a few persons in the community read the parliamentary debates and have an extensive interest in public affairs; they share their knowledge with their neighbours, however, and in this way the sense of a broader Canadian citizenship is penetrating the Reserve. The election in 1932 of a native-born Mennonite to the Manitoba legislature is at once an index of the increased political participation of the group and a guarantee that its knowledge of provincial affairs will increase, since it has a representative who can interpret Canadian problems in terms of the Mennonite background.

Through these varied channels—the fringe, the town, movements of population, the school, governmental services, the Canadian newspaper, the election platform—Canadian conceptions of life have entered the community. These invasions have resulted in a fundamental reorganization of its sectarian culture.

2. *Multiplication of Sectarian Subdivisions*

One of the more obvious results of the impact of Canadian life has been the tendency to conflict within the sect and hence the formation of several smaller groups. The Mennonites with their emphasis upon the dictates of the individual conscience and the principle of congregational autonomy have been especially subject to these divisive tendencies.

The coming of the Bergthalers from east of the Red River about 1890 ended the Old Colony monopoly of the West Reserve. Shortly after 1890 the Bergthalers themselves were divided on the school issue. A minority of the group favoured public schools and a more thorough training for teachers, while the majority considered the traditional educational system sufficiently efficacious. The

conservative majority broke away and organized a new congregation which they called the Sommerfelder, because their bishop resided in the village of that name.

Both the Bergthaler and Sommerfelder congregations centred in the eastern portion of the Reserve. They were the first to abandon the village pattern of settlement. They also took the lead in the establishment of a municipal government which gradually superseded the old Schulze system. When the rural municipality of Rhineland was organized in 1883 the Old Colonists in the centre of the Reserve refused to have anything to do with it. The municipal office was therefore established in Neuanlage and later moved to Altona, and for many years all councillors of the municipality were drawn from the eastern half of the Reserve.

About 1885 another branch of the Mennonite church took root in the area. The Mennonite Brethren (*Bruder Gemeinde*) had become a separate group in Russia in 1860, and some of them migrated to the United States during the years 1874-1879. Their belief in conversion as the basis of church membership led to their programme of active evangelism, which, beginning in the United States, soon spread into Manitoba. In 1885, two missionaries from the United States began preaching along the northern border of the Reserve in what is now the Winkler district. This was a ripe field for missionary activity; the Mennonites moving from the original villages into this district were losing touch, through excommunication or sheer lack of interest, with the Old Colony church. Yet they still felt themselves to be Mennonites; accordingly a number were baptized into the new church and in 1888 the first church building was erected north of Winkler. Winkler has remained the centre of the group, which now numbers some 3,000 persons in the Reserve. The Brethren church is more liberal than the Bergthaler or Sommerfelder groups in matters of dogma and ritual, but it maintains a puritanical strictness in matters of conduct.

The most recently formed sect, the Church of God, split away from the older branches of the church in 1920, and its history is typical of the process by which such groups arise. Mr. W., the founder, was for many years principal of the Plumville school and a member of the Bergthaler church.

About 1920, according to his own account, he "saw the light and got saved" and began preaching. In 1922 he and his adherents bought the old public school and converted it into a meeting house. At this time reputable members

of the community became alarmed and the orthodox branches of the church undertook an active campaign against the new movement. In 1922, Mr. W. was not re-elected as town clerk and in 1923, after a pitched battle, he was ousted from the school. He then wandered from one rural school to another and is now teaching in a rural school near Morden, where he has succeeded in establishing another branch of the sect.

The movement represents an emotional protest against rigid formality in religion—a type of movement common in Mennonite history. Revival meetings and camp conferences are common events. It is characteristic of such a group that they deny that they are in any sense a sect; Mr. W. remarked, "we are simply members of the old, old church of God—the one mentioned in the Bible, you know."²

Thus the Old Colony church with its extreme formalism and resistance to change suffered the loss of large numbers of its members. In the original central villages it held its own, but in the individually-settled districts along the northern and eastern edges of the colony, and in the railway towns, the Old Colony church lost its authority. Indeed it does not seem to have made any effort to retain control over these districts. To the Old Colonists the dissenters were "lost souls" for whom there was no hope.

This multiplication of religious subdivisions signified not only the passing of unified sectarian control but also marked the growth of a type of denominationalism which is adjusted to the secular interests of the more individualistic Canadian communities. While tolerance of secular interests pervades the colony, it exists in varying degrees in the different Mennonite religious groups.

3. *Growth of Denominational Toleration*

Secularization has proceeded rapidly since the migration of the orthodox sectarians to Mexico in 1922-1925. Those who remained behind were religious liberals and offered no fundamental opposition to the process. They were reinforced, moreover, by an even more liberal group of "new Mennonites" from Russia, some 1,500 of whom settled in the Reserve, mostly between 1924 and 1927. Driven from Russia by the Communists after the Revolution of 1917, they came to Canada with little money, but with a progressive spirit and a thirst for education. The feeling between old and new Mennonites in the Reserve has not always been friendly. But with the economic progress of the new arrivals, and their adjustment to the ways of the Canadian Mennonite community, friction is gradually dying down. The more permanent

² Field notes.

result of the new Mennonite invasion has been the dispersion of a liberal group throughout the entire Reserve, and into those former Old Colonist strongholds never before penetrated by any progressive influence.

Two trends have marked the recent history of the Mennonite church in Canada: (a) contacts with other Christian denominations have resulted in an elaboration of ritual and church organization among the more liberal branches of the sect; (b) a growing tolerance of the world and a differentiation between the sacred and the secular have made the church one among other institutions in the community.

The highly sectarian Old Colony church was almost ~~wiped~~ wiped out in Manitoba by the emigration to Mexico; the few hundred members who remained behind joined other congregations, usually the conservative Sommerfelders, or else they stood aloof in austere isolation. In a Saskatchewan district where the group was dealt a severe blow by the emigration of the bishop and all but one of its ministers, a number became adherents of the Rosenort and Mennonite Brethren churches, while others joined these congregations permanently. Their sole remaining minister, however, continued preaching among the Old Colonists though the group had almost no organization during 1923-1930. In the latter year the faithful minister was elected Bishop of the Old Colony church for Western Canada and three new ministers were elected to assist him. Here the original sectarian group appears, therefore, to have received a new lease of life.

The Sommerfelders and Bergthalers were originally members of the same congregation, but they now stand to each other somewhat in the same relation as "high-church" and "low-church" Anglicans. The Sommerfelder church differs little from the Old Colony church, save that it tolerates residence in town and has recently permitted the establishment of Sunday Schools; it has always been conservative in educational policy and opposed public schools. The Bergthalers who are progressive educationalists and advocates of public schools have young people's societies as well as Sunday Schools. These *Jugendvereins* meet every second Sunday evening and have programmes of a religious and literary character, including songs, recitations, and speeches, usually with a religious content and delivered in the German language. Their sermons are preached, not read. They have organs, practise choral singing, and use a modern hymn-book with tunes, in addition to the old one. The

idea of a choir is gaining favour at the present time. Indeed, a choir composed largely of young people did function for a time in the Altona Bergthaler church, but it was frowned on by the elders and dropped when an attempt was made to introduce English anthems.

The Mennonite Brethren are more tolerant of new ideas. In addition to active Sunday Schools and young people's societies, many of the Brethren churches have sewing circles for women and girls. The sale of the products of these circles is contributed to the church; open collections are taken at each service, a practice which marks a definite change from the past. The Brethren have excellent choirs and are major promoters of the annual *Saengerfest*. In certain churches English services are held once in every three or four weeks. The Brethren insist on conversion and adult baptism as the bases of church membership, so that joining the church is not a formality which one undergoes on reaching adult life as in the more conservative groups. In spite of their liberalism in the foregoing matters, they maintain a Puritan discipline in matters of conduct, with strict injunctions to keep the Sabbath. They are forbidden to dance, play cards, smoke, or drink.

The Rosenort congregation is found only in the Saskatchewan district. It was formed, it will be remembered, by the fusion of early Bergthaler immigrants from Manitoba and the progressive German Mennonite settlers at Tiefengrund; the union of these two groups, each moderately tolerant, produced a congregation which has with time become more liberal than either of the component bodies. The Rosenort congregation has from time to time been reinforced by later Bergthaler immigrants from Manitoba and by new immigrants from Russia. Each local church in the conference has a large measure of autonomy. They are very similar to the Mennonite Brethren in matters of church worship and organization. Coöperation between the two groups in the Rosthern district is close; both assist in maintaining the Bethany Bible Training School for ministers at Waldheim, which was established in 1927, and is conducted by a Mennonite Brethren minister who received his education in a United States college, and has students ranging in age from 16 to 35 years.

Certain of the Rosenort churches have made changes which ally them very closely to Canadian Protestant denominations. The belfry tower and imposing structure of the Rosthern church is very different from the simple one-roomed meeting house. The Hague

church has English services twice each month and *Jugendverein* meetings are held in both German and English; weekly prayer meetings are also held. The minister has attended a university and is paid \$1.50 per sermon. This trend toward the professionalization of the ministry is evident also in the Waldheim Rosenort church which pays its minister \$600 per year. These are resident ministers who do not visit regularly throughout the entire Reserve as do the ministers of the more conservative groups. Relations with other Protestant denominations are cordial and the International Sunday School Lesson leaflet is used in the Sunday School of the Rosthern Rosenort church. The Rosenort churches support the British and Foreign Bible Society, and its representative is allowed to preach in their pulpits.

Of the new Mennonite immigrants, a number belong to the Brethren church and the remainder to a congregation much like the Bergthalers. In the Rosthern district all of the immigrants joined the Brethren or Rosenort churches. In Manitoba, while many joined the Brethren and the Bergthalers, most of those who settled in the older villages formed new congregations of their own. Each of these is at the moment completely autonomous, but it seems likely that they will in time be organized into a new conference.

The major branches of the Mennonite religion in Canada, arranged in order of decreasing sectarianism, are: Old Colonist, Sommerfelder, Bergthaler, Mennonite Brethren, Rosenort. In order to estimate the extent to which the original sectarianism yet lingers in the community and the extent to which it has been displaced, it is necessary to know the size of each of these groups at the present time.

Estimates of the size of each of the major groups were secured as shown in Table XXIX. These figures indicate an approximate numerical equality of liberal and conservative religious groups, but there is no doubt that the latter are steadily losing ground to the liberals. In the Rosthern district many young men from the Old Colony villages have gone to work in town or for farmers in other parts of the area. As there is no Old Colony church nearby, they attend the Rosenort or Brethren services. After a while they do not willingly return to the Old Colony services and are, therefore, usually lost to the mother church. In the Manitoba district, a large proportion of the children of Sommerfelder parents are leaving that church for the Bergthaler. As one middle-aged school teacher remarked, "I was raised a Sommerfelder, but I guess I'm

spoiled; I like music and sermons that are preached, not read. I've let my boy join the Bergthalers." Some of the ministers of the Old Colony and Sommerfelder churches perceive this trend, but very few make any attempt to meet it. They are not willing to make the compromises which would be necessary to retain the loyalty of the young people.

The Mennonite religion, with all its minor divisions, does not appear to be losing in membership or in attendance. The West Reserve in Manitoba has 11 country churches (not including schools used as preaching stations) each with an average membership of 100, and 13 town churches with an average membership of

TABLE XXIX.—MEMBERS OF BRANCHES OF THE MENNONITE RELIGION IN WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA, AND ROSTHERN COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN, 1932

	OLD COLONY	SOMMERFELDER	BERGTHALER	MENNONITE BRETHRENS	ROSENORT	OTHER
Manitoba.....	500	5,000	3,500	3,000	.....	400
Saskatchewan.....	3,400	500	.....	2,000	4,000	500
Total.....	3,900	5,500	3,500	5,000	4,000	900

between 200 and 400, the total church membership of the Reserve must therefore be in the neighbourhood of 5,000, which means that almost every adult in the community is a member. Church attendance appears to be very nearly 100 per cent. It is also true, of course, that church attendance does not mean as much to the more secular-minded young people of today as it did to their fathers. In many cases it is submitted to as a formality without great basis of conviction. This is true of a large proportion of the town children, and those in particular who have been to the city for further education at the university or normal school.

Other Protestant denominations have made no attempt to proselytize the Mennonites and have drawn no members from among them. The only exception is in the town of Rosthern, with its 11 churches and its great variety of nationalities and creeds. Here the Evangelical Church and the Seventh Day Adventists, in particular, have won a small number of Mennonite adherents by conversion or intermarriage.

In order to estimate the changes which have taken place in the role of the church in group life, it is necessary to remind ourselves what that role originally was. The Old Colony church, aside from its purely spiritual tasks, had the following functions: its services were called upon at the major crises of birth, baptism, marriage, and death; it exercised rigid control of morals and conduct; its leaders were leaders also in secular matters, notably in education and local government; it was the focus of community life and the only occasion for large community gatherings. What has happened to the church in these respects since Old Colony days?

The church ritual is still followed on all important occasions. Marriages and deaths are invariably accompanied by the religious service. Control of morals has been less strict in the conservative groups and even more relaxed in the liberal groups. These latter have nothing corresponding to the Old Colony practice of excommunication, nor do they set aside a day in each week on which members answer for their misdeeds before the entire congregation. This does not mean that there is a lack of adequate control over moral conduct. The young are very effectively kept in the path of conformity but this control is now maintained mainly by village and small-town gossip and by parental discipline.

The ministers of the Old Colonist and Sommerfelder churches, indeed all rural ministers, have lost steadily in importance as community leaders. They may still be respected because of their personal character or because of their position as well-to-do farmers. The influential community leaders of today, however, are in the railway towns and are for the most part laymen—school teachers, municipal secretaries, and business men. A number of ministers of the progressive churches, particularly in the Rosenort congregation, have attained considerable influence in secular affairs. It is possible that the decline in influence of the Old Colony village minister will be in time partially counteracted by an increase in influence of the progressive minister residing in town.

The church is still the occasion for the most widely attended community gatherings. The annual or semi-annual *Missionsfest*, and the semi-annual *Bruderschaft* (brotherhood) meetings draw all the members of a particular congregation in the area together. The annual *Saengerfest* (song festival) brings together members of all the more liberal congregations. Secular gatherings, however, are increasing in importance and attendance, and are beginning to compete successfully with the traditional festivals. School picnics,

fair days, and sports days in the towns, the Winkler chautauqua, and even political meetings are gathering increasing numbers of followers.

4. *Secularization of Education*

The trend from the religious to the secular soon made itself felt in the field of education. Private schools founded at the outset had deteriorated quickly because of inadequate training facilities for teachers. To remedy this situation, a number of progressive members of the Bergthaler congregation in the eastern portion of the Reserve organized an educational association. In 1891 an agreement was entered into with the provincial department of education, whereby the department was to appoint and support an inspector of Mennonite schools, while the association was to maintain the Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna, which included a teachers' training course.

By 1903, the Inspector, H. H. Ewert, had succeeded in changing almost one-third of the private schools in the area to public schools; English was the language of instruction in the upper grades, the curriculum was fairly comprehensive, and a number of the teachers had provincial certificates. It is significant that these public schools were located in the railway towns and along the borders of the Reserve rather than at its centre.

In 1903, the agreement of 1891 was dissolved through political intrigue, and the number of public schools in the Reserve decreased slightly. The Mennonite Collegiate Institute, however, continued to function and Mr. Ewert as its principal continued his work as a pioneer of Mennonite education. This struggle over public schools split the community into two groups: Bergthalers and Mennonite Brethren favoured public schools; Sommerfelders opposed them but did not discipline such parents as allowed their children to attend; but the Old Colonists were steadfastly opposed to the establishment of public schools and disciplined parents who permitted their children to attend them.

The post-war educational quarrels, described in Chapter V, occasioned another crisis. The policy of the provincial authorities and the emigration of the most orthodox group of Mennonites to Mexico led to a rapid expansion of the public school system among the Mennonites. Private schools, with their emphasis on items of sectarian culture, have been eliminated from the area and the victory for secular education appears to be complete.

The salient features of the old private school system were: (a) supervision of education by church officials; (b) the teaching of the German language and religious and moral instruction bulked large; (c) it was thought that secular education would undermine loyalty to the sect; (d) the teacher was "a man of good moral character," which meant, in effect, a devout sectarian who had little training and little contact with English-speaking Canada; (e) no extra-curricular activities or associations were allowed in connection with the school because of the secular emphasis in their programmes.

The development of the public school system during the past decade has brought about certain changes:

(a) Supervision of education has been transferred from private hands to the provincial department of education. The inspector who is the immediate representative of the department in the area is a Mennonite, but he will not tolerate the church's meddling in educational matters.

(b) Instruction is now entirely in English except for one-half hour each day, and the curriculum is that prescribed by the department.

(c) The number of grades taught has steadily increased. In 1918 few of the rural schools taught beyond the first few grades; at the present time most of them have been brought up to Grade VI, and a few have advanced as far as Grade VIII. The inspector is taking steps at the same time to make sure that the full curriculum is actually taught.

It used to be the practice, he remarked, for the teacher following the instructions of the parents, to hold the children back and not teach them too much. But now I send the teacher a monthly sheet for every subject, showing the amount to be taught and at the end of the month I send out a test based on the material. The teacher and pupils can no longer sit at their desks and do nothing.³

These developments have caused an increase in the number of children continuing from public school into high school. The high school enrolment in the Reserve at the present time is about 200 students. This seems small in comparison with the enrolment in public school, but it should be remembered, however, that the high school students are as yet almost all town children. As the standards of the rural schools are raised and as graduates from them begin to enter high school, the enrolment of the latter should approach the normal ratio for the province.

³ Field notes.

(d) The past decade has witnessed a very considerable change in teaching personnel. A large number of the more liberal private school teachers continued under the new regime. Untrained as they were, they constituted the only instructors available at the moment. In recent years, however, the number of trained teachers has greatly increased and the inspector has insisted that they be given the preference by local school boards. Many of the older teachers have accordingly been displaced by a young and vigorous group. While many of them retain a strong attachment to the Mennonite church they have little of the old sectarian spirit. Almost all of them have been trained at the provincial normal school in Winnipeg. The old teachers knew only the Mennonite culture; the new teaching group is familiar with both the old-world culture and that of Canada. The new teacher, indeed, plays the chief role in the Mennonite community.

In scanning the West Reserve for community leaders, it is neither the ministers nor the business men who come first to mind. One thinks of the teachers: Principal Neufeld of Altona, a wide-awake young man who combines high-school teaching with the care of a 40-acre farm; he was founder of the Agricultural Society in Altona, and a pioneer in boys' and girls' club work and in parent-teacher organization. J. D. Siemens, teacher at Edenthal school, was secretary and an active leader in the Canadian National Railways Community Progress Competition with all its attendant enterprises. Principal Ewert of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna, a man of wide travel and culture, is prominent alike in church and civic affairs. Through the efforts of Principal Wolkow, prominent as an organizer of community enterprises, the Winkler high school has become the outstanding school in the West Reserve.

(e) Secular organizations connected with the school have multiplied and their influences are felt in the life of the whole community. Young people's organizations receive new ideas through the schools. In the Altona-Gretna district they specialize in agricultural clubs, such as, junior seed growers', poultry and garden clubs; those in Gretna have active athletic associations; in the Rosthern district, literary, dramatic, and choral societies flourish and they present plays, concerts, and debates in the school buildings; in Winkler certain Canadian youth movements have taken root, viz., Boy Scouts, Tuxis, Trail Rangers, and the Canadian Girls in Training; the Plum Coulee school has competed in the district musical festival at Emerson; in still other schools

sewing, cooking, and nursing clubs for the girls have been established. The school picnic is one of the major events of the year for both parents and children. Parent-teacher associations have been organized at Altona and Laird with great success. A beginning has also been made in the field of adult education. The Winkler school teachers have conducted a chautauqua for three years at which addresses are given by educationists from other parts of the province. Special speakers are brought to town from time to time. A number of schools have undertaken to conduct night classes for adults and this project met with keen interest, particularly among the new Mennonites. The school has thus become a place, not merely of formal education, but of activity which is predominantly secular and which brings Mennonites and the outer world closer together.

The district school inspector, supported by the department of education, has been the major factor in the secularization of education. It was he who insisted that local school boards engage qualified teachers, that the school remain open 200 days per year, and that the full curriculum be taught. He is able to enforce his demands by recommending to the department the withholding of the provincial grant from certain districts. His task has been made easier by the influx of new Mennonites eager for education, and by teachers drawn from these ranks who are willing to coöperate in his endeavours. Educational progress, like that in other fields, gets its chief impetus in the towns. New techniques, suggested by the inspector or by the department of education, are first introduced in the town schools. The local branches of the teachers' associations are influential in spreading new methods to rural schools and in time some of them are adopted.

5. *Adoption of an Alien Language*

The retention of the German language had a special importance for the orthodox sectarians inasmuch as it was the language of their religion, the language which they had preserved throughout centuries of residence in eastern Europe, and the language through which they hoped to pass on to the next generation the traditions of the group. Thus the suppression of the German-language instruction after the War was bitterly resented. In spite of the opposition of the older and more conservative Mennonites, however, there seems to have been a definite trend toward the substitution of English both for *Hochdeutsch* in the church services

and for *Plattdeutsch*, the vernacular of the group, in conversation.

In the rural districts, *Plattdeutsch* is universally used and many of the adults speak little or no English. The children learn English in the public school but employ it little in conversation, except in certain of the fringe districts where English-speaking children encourage its use. *Plattdeutsch* remains without exception the language of the home. In the towns there are some old people who speak no English. The majority of adults, however, particularly the men, speak good English and will speak nothing else when in the company of an English-speaking person. The older children use English extensively among themselves. It seems likely that the Mennonite settlements are too small to constitute permanent linguistic islands, that the English language will continue to penetrate them as it has done during the past few decades, and that *Plattdeutsch* will in time become obsolete.

6. *Secular Interests and the Individuation of the Person*

Until the outside world penetrated this sectarian domain, Mennonites conformed to the sect's "way of life." The intrusion of Canadian forms of amusement and other secular activities dispersed their attention and multiplied their interests. This individuation of the Mennonites, of course, is going on more quickly among the young. The process, for this reason, may be best observed in family life.

The traditional Mennonite pattern of family life is essentially patriarchal. Girls, it is assumed, will marry young, will be obedient to their husbands, will assist with the work in the fields, will not endeavour to participate in village or community affairs, and will rear large families. Boys leave school early to assist with work on the parental farm; later, if they choose, they settle on neighbouring farms of their own, with their fathers' assistance. It is the major ambition of a father to see his numerous sons settled on prosperous farms adjoining his own and to feel himself the head of an important clan. Though members of the larger family are dispersed under different roofs, extensive visiting and coöperation in threshing and haying maintain a strong sense of family unity. The father, so long as he lives, is recognized as chief of the group and his judgment is accepted.

Parental control is maintained almost entirely by the "ordering-and-forbidding technique;" the young person is informed that he

is *not* going to the dance or to the moving-picture show, and that settles the matter. The young people, whatever their secret heartburnings, have as yet made little protest; there are not enough young people's organizations in the Reserve to crystallize the "gang spirit" into opposition to the parents. Few of the young people, moreover, have seen enough of the outside world and its ways to strengthen their determination to "be different". The objection of the parents to commercialized amusements is based, according to their own account, not so much on the amusements themselves as on the "tough bunch—the scum of the earth" who come from outside the area to attend them. Dances in Gretna are patronized by persons from across the border who make free use of the local beer parlour. Dances in Winkler draw patrons from the non-Mennonite towns to the north and west—Morden, Carman, and Manitou. Mennonite parents use the presence of these elements as a convenient pretext for keeping their children away from the local dances. The effectiveness of this control is indicated by the fact that none of the strictly Mennonite towns has a moving-picture theatre, and that dances are rare and gain little support from Mennonites. A dance attended by the investigators in Winkler was arranged by the non-Mennonite hotel proprietor, the orchestra was brought from Manitou, and the dance was patronized almost exclusively by non-Mennonite young people from neighbouring towns.

In the farm villages and in the open country this pattern has been little changed. Women are quiet and say little in the presence of strangers; a question addressed to a woman is almost always answered by her husband. Children are shy and submissive. There is evidence, however, that the traditional controls are weakening. Two boys from Hochstadt village remarked in conversation, "There is a tough bunch of boys in Sommerfeld . . . Oh yes, I know it's supposed to be a religious village, but the boys don't listen to that."

The traditional pattern of Mennonite family life is changing rapidly in some of the larger towns. Women have begun to vote and to take part in church meetings; the forming of sewing circles in the more liberal churches has given them an organization of their own, a nucleus from which other women's societies will doubtless arise in time. Young people begin to take an interest in dances, moving picture shows, and other commercialized amusements. Even those who do not attend are influenced by the

presence of these attractions; they stand about the streets and look rather wistfully at the non-Mennonite young people as they pass by to places of amusement. Intermarriage with non-Mennonites has not yet become common, but it is on the increase.

The two groups in which individuation has proceeded farthest are the young teachers trained in the Winnipeg Normal School and the young men from the country who have abandoned farming and have gone into the town to work. To this latter group belong two nineteen-year-olds encountered in Hague.

One, a bank clerk, boasts a sport roadster and a radio, enjoys reading novels of the northwest and sleeps with a gun under his pillow. The other works in a grain elevator; he had for a time worked for his father, but left because of his father's narrow-minded attitude toward dancing. . . . "I worked from 4 in the morning to 7 at night. Then when I wanted to lay off to clean up for a dance, he would tell me to stay and work till 10. I just told him to go chase himself."⁴

The younger teachers, noticeably objective in their outlook on the community, its problems and its tendencies, are not perturbed by the alterations which are occurring in the folkways, but tend to regard the transition from sectarian to secular culture as natural and desirable.

⁴Field notes.

CHAPTER IX

CANADIAN MENNONITE COMMUNITIES TODAY

THE Mennonite communities today occupy a position midway between the traditional sectarian culture centring in the farm village with its theocratic government, puritan *mores*, and German language, and the contemporary Canadian culture organized about the commercial town. Mennonite and Canadian forms of social and economic life are inextricably mingled as may be noted in a summary description of typical community centres, basic institutions, and characteristic personal attitudes.

1. *Typical Towns in the Mennonite Area*

Winkler is admittedly queen of the Mennonite towns. Its population is 81 per cent. Mennonite; 3 English families, 1 Chinese restaurant-keeper, 3 Jewish storekeepers, and a few German Lutherans constitute the remainder. The names of the stores are Mennonite, many of the signs are in German, and *Plattdeutsch* is heard on the street. The people have a sober mien; automobiles are less common than elsewhere in the West; the beer parlour, the dance hall, and secular amusements of all sorts are poorly patronized. One is wakened at 7 a.m. by the ringing of the town bell and the sound of the cowherd's horn as he drives the cattle down the street on his way to the coöperatively-owned pasture; every family has its cow and a fine garden of vegetables and flowers. The town itself, however, is laid out in typical prairie fashion: a main street parallels the railway, and another runs at right angles to this; the hotel and the bank, on the corner, face the railway station; grain elevators stand in a neat row along the railway; further back, churches, school buildings, and residences are arranged in rectangular blocks. In the evening there are games of tennis and baseball, and the sound of radios is occasionally heard. Most of the athletic and agricultural organizations which one expects in a small town are to be found here. One does not feel in Winkler that one is among "peculiar people" because the younger people speak English on the street.

Canadian influences are even more evident in Plum Coulee where about 13 per cent. of the population is English or German Lutheran, although in an earlier period of the town's history the proportion of non-Mennonites was as great as two-thirds. The town possesses the only Wömen's Institute in the Reserve, and has competed in the school musical festival at Emerson. Boy Scouts, Canadian Girls in Training, and other Canadian youth organiza-

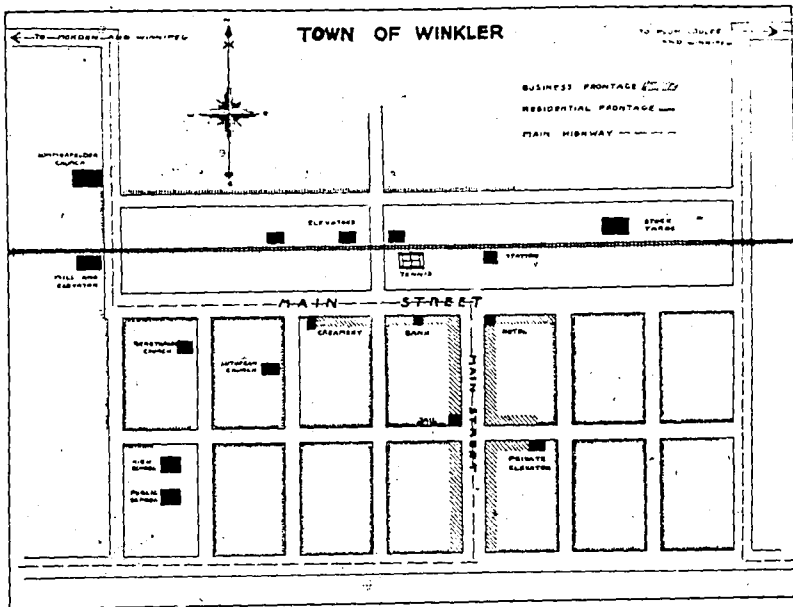


FIG. 25.—Town of Winkler, Manitoba. This plan is typical of railway centres in the Prairie Provinces.

tions have also flourished there from time to time. The English-Canadian doctor in Plum Coulee was for many years Conservative member in the provincial legislature.

Gretna was for some years a major port of entry into Western Canada for would-be settlers and is still a customs station. Customs officials, policemen, and other government employees help to bring the English-Canadian population up to about 15 per cent. of the total. The beer parlour is a frequent resort for visitors from North Dakota, just half a mile to the south. Gretna is a centre of Mennonite education because of the presence there of Mr. Ewert and his Mennonite Collegiate Institute. The presence of these various influences is reflected in the life of the town. The children

speak English almost exclusively among themselves. Athletics and social organizations for young people are plentiful. The Gretna moving picture house and the occasional dances lend spice to the life of "the younger set"; one of this group remarked that "Gretna is considered quite a sporty place by the other towns along the line."

Altona is the most distinctly Mennonite town in the Reserve. Its population is 90 per cent. Mennonite; many of the older people speak no English, and most of the older women still dress in the



FIG. 26—Winter scene in Altona, a railway town in the Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba.

traditional fashion. Altona is the headquarters of the two *Waisen-ants*; it was also the seat of the conservative Sommerfelder collegiate which was burnt in 1924. Dances and secular amusements are rare, and the pace of life is sober. On Saturday night the peak of activity is reached about ten o'clock, and by eleven the streets are nearly empty. At nine o'clock on Sunday morning the children are off to Sunday school, at ten the older people are on their way to church, the men in black, the older women with fine shawls on their heads, all carrying large, old Bibles under their arms. Yet modern ways are gradually penetrating into the town. The principal of the high school has organized an agricultural society, a dramatic society, numerous agricultural clubs among the children, and, as already mentioned, has been active in enrolling

the district in the Community Progress Competition. In recent years several Canadian youth movements have also gained a foothold in the town, again under the guidance of progressive school teachers and in the face of opposition from conservative residents. The blending of the two cultures in each of these towns is evident from the description. They are typical small Canadian towns, but they have in addition the remnants of institutions and customs developed in other times and from other lands. Then, too, they are the major points of cultural interaction in the Mennonite area; and they are the places where the processes of assimilation can be most easily seen and analysed. Furthermore, the rivalries of these commercial towns have been instrumental in transforming much of the colony's self-consciousness into loyalty to the local community.

The original Old Colonist settler in the West Reserve felt himself to be a member of a solidly-knit community, a brotherhood united in protection of its members and in defiance of the outside world. Competition and rivalry among members of the group were expressly forbidden in the hope that this unity might be preserved. More recently, intra-community rivalry has in various subtle ways made its appearance. After the split between Bergthaler and Sommerfelder congregations, rival collegiates were maintained for many years, in Gretna by the Bergthalers, in Altona by the Sommerfelders, and the feud was only ended by the burning of the Sommerfelder collegiate in 1924. Rivalry between small towns for trade or athletic prowess, between high schools for prestige, between baseball teams in neighbouring districts—all these are weaker than in English-Canadian areas, but are steadily growing stronger. Politically the Reserve is divided between Progressives and Conservatives. The one-time unity of the community is dissolving into a patchwork of small-town and party loyalties.

At the same time the solidarity of the group against the outsider has decreased. An interesting event occurred in the provincial elections of 1932, when for the first time a Mennonite was nominated as Progressive candidate to compete with an English-Canadian Conservative candidate in the constituency of Rhineland, which includes Morden and other non-Mennonite areas. The campaign did not, as one might expect, result in the alinement of all the Mennonites in the constituency against all the non-Mennonites. Many Mennonites, on the contrary, actively supported the non-Mennonite candidate; some because of deeply-rooted Conservative views which proved stronger than their feeling

of Mennonite solidarity; some because they considered it too great a departure from precedent for a Mennonite to become a candidate. Three towns—Altona, Gretna, and Plum Coulee—gave the non-Mennonite candidate a majority; the Mennonite candidate, however, won the election by some 600 votes, to the great jubilation of his supporters. On election night in Altona a radio was erected in one of the local garages, and a large number of the younger men remained until a late hour listening to the election returns and exchanging banter indicative of lively party sympathies. On the day after the election, the “post-mortem” discussions heard in different parts of the town further indicated the extent to which the election had divided the Reserve into two camps.

While non-Mennonites tend to regard the Mennonite settlers as a united group, they themselves are not conscious of belonging to one large Mennonite community. A resident of the West Reserve does not think of himself as a member of an historic sectarian settlement. He is a resident of the Altona district or of the Plum Coulee district, which district, he firmly believes, is better than that of Gretna or Winkler. No one organization includes everyone in the Mennonite area, except possibly the annual meetings of Mennonite school teachers and trustees. Nor have the Mennonite settlements in Canada much contact with each other or with Mennonite communities in other lands. A conference of all the progressive Mennonite churches in the Prairie Provinces is held annually; letters are exchanged between relatives in different areas; the sectarian newspapers carry letters from Russia and Mexico as well as from the three prairie provinces of Canada; the Colonization Board, maintained by immigrant Mennonites of the post-war period, retains some contact with new Russian Mennonites. But the bonds are weaker even than those which bind individual Mennonite settlements to neighbouring non-Mennonite areas, and they cannot prevent the final absorption of Mennonite settlements into the general stream of Canadian life.

Open hostility to secular education has gradually died down, though a few Old Colonists in the Rosthern “daughter colony” still pay a fine of \$10 per child per month to keep their children out of the public school. There is recurrent agitation, unsuccessful as yet, to have the school year reduced from 10 months to 8, so that the children may give more help in farming operations. For the most part, however, the attitude of the parents to education is rather indifferent, hampering the efforts of teacher and pupil alike.

This educational indifference of the parents usually results in the child's lack of interest in education after the age of twelve.

2. Institutions

Certain institutions developed in Canada by the Mennonites themselves, retard the entry of corresponding Canadian ones. Yet in these institutions a Canadian content is not entirely lacking. The Mennonite press, and certain coöperative societies in the banking and insurance fields are worthy of mention in this regard.

Der Nordwesten, a secular German-language newspaper, published in Winnipeg, has about 10,000 subscribers, several thousand of whom are Mennonites. Among sectarian papers which circulate in the Mennonite areas, *Die Mennonitische Rundschau* stands easily first. It has a circulation of 5,000, of which approximately 2,000 is in Manitoba. *Die Rundschau* is published weekly in Winnipeg and contains 16 pages. About one-quarter of the space is devoted to articles and poems of a religious character. Another quarter is given over to correspondence. There are letters from residents of the local Mennonite districts—the simple, homely letters which country folk write; the crops, the weather, all their joys, sorrows, and activities are freely discussed. There are letters from abroad, too, particularly from Russia, setting forth the trials of Mennonites there and asking for material assistance. News items from local districts, having to do chiefly with weddings, funerals, and religious gatherings, are given some prominence; the amount of Canadian and world news is very small. A few short stories and articles, of a moralistic sort, and a considerable number of advertisements, complete the journal. The advertisements are chiefly those of Mennonite business and professional men in Winnipeg, though there are some from the country towns; altogether they bring in nearly enough revenue to pay the cost of printing the paper.

Der Bote, founded in 1923 and published in Rosthern, is the journal of the new Mennonites. Its circulation of 1,500 is much smaller than that of *Die Rundschau*, partly because it is a newer venture, partly because the new Mennonites have less money to spend on newspaper subscriptions. It has only 4 pages and appears weekly. Its content is of the same general character as that of *Die Rundschau*, except that it devotes more space to articles of a purely educational character and less to religious topics. Its advertisements are more limited than its more widely-known

rival, and the few which are secured concern almost entirely the town of Rosthern.

The tendency towards group enterprise noted in the Mennonite community during the period of isolated pioneer economy has by no means died out. Even today the Mennonite depends little upon outside organizations for banking, credit, and insurance services.

The oldest and most important of such organizations is the *Waisenamt*, a bank for savings deposits and credit issue operated on a non-profit basis by members of certain congregations. There are at the present time, two *Waisenamts*, the Bergthaler and the Sommerfelder, in the West Reserve, with combined deposits of over \$1,000,000. The largest venture in the field of life insurance is that of the Mutual Supporting Company of Southern Manitoba; this society, formed in 1911, has at present some 500 members scattered throughout Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Organization is simple and the only paid executive is the secretary-treasurer, a storekeeper in Gretna who receives a small salary.

Fire insurance is organized in the same simple fashion. The organization consists of an agent in each district and a superintendent for the whole settlement, each receiving a small salary. At the end of the year a levy is made upon each member, the amount depending upon the number of fires during the year. A large hail insurance company, incorporated under provincial law and conducted after the pattern of Canadian companies, operates in the Rosthern area. While the fire insurance company will only insure Mennonites, this company is open to all, the obvious inference being that, while an unscrupulous man might set fire to his buildings, only God can send the hail! Several loan funds have been established in the West Reserve, and a consumers' coöperative company has made a beginning in Altona. Although these companies belong to the Mennonites, they are incorporated under Canadian law and brotherly love does not stand in the way of business acumen. While the Mennonites have developed some economic institutions which they still dominate, they also make use of a wide range of Canadian institutions. They are more self-sufficient than most farming communities of their size and wealth but they are very much a part of the Canadian economic system.

Their cultural insularity, also, is breaking down. Certain Mennonite religious practices and beliefs remain, but the payment

and training of ministers, the multiplication of church organizations, and the tolerance of secular interests are innovations of Canadian origin. The Sunday school, the young people's society, the girls' sewing circle, while they may be regarded as a compromise with the world, are also a means of retaining the loyalty of the progressive elements of the community. These modifications in sectarian organizations also help to reduce the conflict between parents and their children. The assimilation of the latter is often so rapid that parents are unable to exercise their customary authority.

Although secularization of education has proceeded rapidly, it has not eliminated the Mennonite teacher, who still retains some of the old religious attitudes, nor has it eliminated certain sectarian elements in the curriculum. Religious instruction between 3.30 and 4 p.m. every day is permitted by law. It is also possible for individual school boards to arrange with teachers for instruction in German outside the regular school hours. Church leaders endeavour to see that full advantage is taken of these possibilities for perpetuating certain elements of the sectarian culture. In a country school whose constituency is solidly Mennonite, instruction in religion and German is the rule, the latter frequently occupying an hour each day. In schools on the fringe, however, which are attended by children of different races and religions, such instruction is usually not given, since school boards fear the conflict which might result. In the towns, too, the classes in German and religion have either lapsed or are attended by only a minority of the school children.

There are other forms of education which supplement the schools in extending secular interests. Mennonite young people are attending the normal school and the university, and Mennonite districts are participating in musical festivals, baseball leagues, and progress competitions with outside districts. The Mennonite form of local government remains in the farm villages but it is giving way to Canadian municipal government in other parts of the area. More and more the Mennonites are coming into possession of the language and ideas of the Canadian West.

3. Attitudes

Since communities and their institutions represent an integration of Mennonite and Canadian elements one may expect a reflection of this situation in the attitudes of persons. Some attention has already been given to the forces which have accentuated the

individual wishes in all matters and which have extended greatly the range of purely secular interests. Of course there are no longer any persons in these Mennonite communities who are exclusively sectarian or completely worldly. All are mixtures with sectarian components predominating in some and secular characteristics in others. The following case studies will illustrate this statement:

John S. is a teacher in the Edenthal school. He is of very conservative Old Colony stock. "I sat on the hard benches in the old private school for eight years; at the end of that time I could read any word in our reader or in the Bible, but I couldn't understand it. One day a boy told me a good story. I asked him where he had heard that; he said that he had read it. I thought it was wonderful that a person would read a book and tell the story afterwards; I couldn't do that. But I began to try, and after a while I could do it too; I read a hundred Buffalo Bill stories just for practice." It was then that the longing for further education took hold of him. Leaving his family, village, and church, he came to Gretna to work as a carpenter. He boarded for a time in the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, where Mr. Ewert became interested in him. On Mr. Ewert's advice, he prepared himself for the Grade VIII examinations, passed them, and continued through to Grade XI. After a year at the normal school, he began to teach, preparing at the same time for his Grade XII examination which he completed last year. He plans now to attend university in the near future. He speaks good English, is very well versed in the English classics and well informed on current affairs. He has been active in the local community progress work and is a true progressive in every respect.

David S., an early settler in the area, lives on his well-kept farmstead one mile from Gretna. Although nearly 70 years of age, he administers the affairs of the farm in vigorous patriarchal fashion. Six of his sons, ranging in age from 45 downwards, have never left home and still work on their father's farm. "Old Dave" is the chief of the clan, sits at the head of the table, and enjoys the prestige of his position. He is a round-faced, jovial fellow who fairly beams when particularly pleased. He might be taken for a corn-belt farmer from the Middle West. He acquired a knowledge of English in the early days when his father was proprietor of an inn on the old post road, and employs all the English colloquialisms and curses freely. He is a member of the Sommerfelder church and conservative in religious matters. He speaks scornfully of the "young fellows who stand around the street corners. They haven't got enough work to do; they're spoiled, and they're spoiling other boys." In certain respects, however, he is liberal; he entered whole-heartedly into the Community Progress Competition, experimented with corn and sugar-beets on a large scale, and is steadily improving the quality of his livestock.

Frank H., a young school teacher, is the son of an Altona merchant. After teaching for some years he saved enough to put himself through the provincial university, and graduated last year in science. He is thoroughly Canadian in his dress, speech, and manners, in his desire for education, in his agitation to introduce a choir into the Bergthaler church to which he belongs, and in his attitude

towards the more conservative members of the community. Yet he is an orthodox church member, teaches in the Sunday school, and deplors the "wildness" of the younger people in the town and their readiness to adopt Canadian amusement.¹

The English-speaking resident of the Mennonite town has a few typical attitudes toward his neighbours. The fact that religion plays such an important part in their lives is expressed in such phrases as "they're a funny people, crazy about religion," or "the Mennonites are a morbid, melancholy people—live for nothing but work and religion." The Old Colonists are invariably praised for their industry, frugality, and honesty; the moral standards of the younger Mennonites and of the recent immigrants are generally considered to be somewhat lower. The usual small-town semi-urban attitude is adopted toward Mennonite conservatism and dislike of rapid change—"they live all to themselves—they don't care about progress." There is a suspicion among non-Mennonites that the members of the sect are not quite so virtuous as they would have outsiders believe, particularly as regards sex morality. (This charge of sexual laxity, however, is a charge levied by non-sectarians against many sectarian groups.) On the whole, then, the attitudes of non-Mennonites combine respect for the solidity of the Mennonite character with tolerance towards its peculiarities. The Mennonites on their side are less suspicious of their non-Mennonite neighbours, as is evidenced by their willingness to elect them to positions of responsibility in the community.

The Mennonite group as a whole has ceased to struggle against the world, and has to a large extent even forgotten its own distinctive group character. The process of absorption proceeds almost unconsciously and is one of the whole Mennonite community rather than of individual Mennonites as is the case in areas of scattered settlement. Through many channels, the world is insinuating itself into the community life and breaking down the distinguishing characteristics of a "peculiar people". Whether this assimilation will be complete 50 years hence, 100 years, or more, it is impossible at present to predict. Nor does it greatly matter, for in the interim the group will have become an integral part of the larger Canadian community and there will be no more talk of "the Mennonite problem".

¹ Field notes.

PART III
THE MORMONS



CHAPTER X

SETTLEMENT OF THE MORMONS IN ALBERTA

1. Mormon Migration Westward and Northward

THE Mormon settlement in southern Alberta is one of the more recent developments in the life of a religious group whose origin traces back to the New England States of the nineteenth century. A brief outline of the migrations of the sect will serve as a background against which the development of the Alberta colony may be more clearly understood. This introductory note is not intended to add to the already voluminous literature on the history and the theology of the Mormons.¹ Its purpose is merely to indicate some of the circumstances involved in the repeated efforts of the Mormons to segregate themselves.

Mormon doctrines and aspirations definitely reflect the social influences of the environment under which they developed. The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of great social unrest in New England. Nationalistic feelings as articulated by political leaders emphasized the "manifest destiny" of the new American republic, and there was a definite urge towards territorial expansion across the Great Plains. The United States was as yet largely an agricultural country with an abundance of unsettled public lands. Democratic leaders who discussed the problem of distributing this land held that it was the "natural right" of every man to own a part of the earth's surface. Many idealistic experiments were made in order to apply this theory along with the doctrine of equality, and the banding together of the Mormons was but one of many Utopian schemes of that period. Most of these group undertakings were influenced by religious motives. It was an age of great religious and intellectual confusion. Great revivals swept the country and gave rise to new social movements. The millennial hope was the recurrent theme, and many people,

¹ See for example, H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: 1890); J. H. Kennedy, *Early Days of Mormonism* (New York: 1888); Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Period I*, Edited by B. H. Roberts, Vols. 1-6, (Salt Lake City: 1902); T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints* (London: 1875); M. R. Werner, *Brigham Young* (New York: 1925).

especially on the frontier, believed that the second coming of Christ was close at hand.²

Among the millennialists none was more fervent than the Mormons. They identified themselves with the ancient tribes of Israel, and thus became the "chosen people" for whom God had reserved a portion of the North American continent in order that they might build their city of Zion in a location which would be a suitable dwelling-place for the returning Saviour.

These doctrines were first put forth by a number of New Englanders under the leadership of Joseph Smith, of Palmyra, New York. Joseph Smith and his friends became the objects of ridicule and contempt of their fellow citizens. Continued disapproval made the Mormons feel that they were persecuted and they soon decided to escape from a hostile home environment. Moreover, they decided that the abundance of free land on the western frontier would enable them to realize their ideal "city of Zion".

They made successive attempts to establish a new settlement, first at Kirtland, Ohio, next at Jackson County, Missouri, and other districts within that state, then at Nauvoo, Illinois, and finally in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in the Utah territory. On each of these frontiers the Mormons settled in what was virtually an empty territory. They grouped their houses together in farm villages, planned in the form of a square, brought the surrounding lands under cultivation, and established temples and schools. Within a few years they prospered in each new settlement. But their sectarian doctrines, which were often expressed in terms of triumphant self-assurance, together with their economic success, soon brought them into conflict with other pioneers. They were accused of plotting with the Indians against the non-Mormons, at a time when wars were waged to exterminate the red men. Moreover, the frequent rumours that the Mormons practised polygamy marked them as "different" from members of more orthodox religious groups.

Religious intolerance on both sides soon led to violence in frontier communities where governmental authority was weak. Mormon leaders were frequently arrested on charges of arson, treason, and murder. The crisis finally came in 1844 when a mob broke into the gaol at Carthage, Illinois, and killed Joseph Smith and his

² Joshua Bradley, *Accounts of Religious Revivals in all Parts of the United States, from 1815 to 1818* (Albany: 1819); Catherine Cleveland, *The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805* (Chicago: 1916).

brother, Hyrum. This event resulted in the trek of 2,000 Mormons across the Great Plains to the valleys of the Rocky Mountains. Here they achieved relative isolation for a number of years, while they consolidated their position under the leadership of Brigham Young. Extensive missionary activities in all parts of the United States, in the British Isles, and in northwestern Europe helped to swell their numbers, and in a few decades their colony had virtually become a commonwealth on United States soil. Their status had changed from that of a little group of persecuted fanatics to that of a great people whose economic and political power was of considerable importance in the as yet sparsely settled western territories.

Polygamy remained a matter of contention between the federal authorities and the Territory of Utah. A series of anti-bigamy laws were passed by Congress over a period of some twenty years. Finally in 1890 the leaders of the Mormon Church issued a manifesto in which they advised their followers to abide by the federal laws, and this officially terminated a vexing problem.

Vigorous enforcement of the Edmunds Act, the last of the federal anti-bigamy laws³ was interpreted by many of the Mormons as renewed persecution, and some of them escaped arrest by crossing the border of Western Canada. These fugitives were the vanguard of the Mormon pioneers who soon arrived in hundreds and settled in what is now commonly called, in Canada, "the Mormon country." This last migration differed from earlier ones in that only a minority group left, while the main body of the sect remained in Utah, which soon became a state in the Union. The migrants to Canada left, not because they were out of harmony with their neighbours, but because they wished to escape regulations imposed on the whole sect from outside.

The Mormons had moved far in their accommodation to other religious groups before they settled in Canada. Yet the traditions of their sectarian days, especially in regard to polygamy, have remained in popular memory long after they ceased to be tenets of their church. While their institutions have become modernized and readjusted to new social situations, the Mormon community does not have the secularization of the other English-speaking Canadian communities. For the Mormons in this Alberta area are

³ This act, passed by Congress in 1882, provided a maximum fine of \$500 and a prison term not exceeding five years for any person in the territories of United States who was convicted of bigamy. It also deprived a bigamist of the right to vote, to serve on a jury, or to hold office under the federal government (see M. R. Werner: *Brigham Young*, p. 364).

markedly theocratic and the dominance of Salt Lake City, not so far away, is much in evidence.

This is truly a daughter colony of the Mormon Church, theocratic and sectarian still to a marked degree. The Mormons are viewed by outsiders as a peculiar people, and they on their part feel that outsiders "do not understand them". They show a high degree of segregation as settlers.

They are not a linguistic minority but they bear the name with its associations, and their religious practices still mark them as sectarian divergents, concerning whom conflict is aroused.

2. *Area of Mormon Concentration*

The Mormons in the Prairie Provinces are concentrated in a region bounded on the south by the Milk River Ridge, on the west by the Rocky Mountains, on the north by Oldman River and the south branch of the Saskatchewan, and on the east by the Cypress Hills. This area constitutes a portion of the third prairie level and its altitude varies from 2,500 to 4,000 feet. Only the western portion of the area described above may be designated as the "Mormon country." (Figs. 27 and 28). The Mormons possess a belt of land extending north approximately 50 miles from the international boundary and 75 miles east from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. This territory is also occupied by other people but the Mormons predominate increasingly as one moves south from Lethbridge. The expansion of Mormon settlement in the northwest portion of the area has been limited by the Blood Indian Reserve, which extends from the town limits of Cardston to a point about 10 miles north and west of Lethbridge and contains 200,000 acres of arable land.

The general topography of the Mormon country is level or gently rolling, and rises gradually towards the southwest. Above altitudes of 3,000 feet the elevations rise rapidly. Here the surface becomes more rugged and forms low plateaus separated by broad, shallow valleys. Still higher up, in altitudes above 4,000 feet, the surface is cut by numerous deep canyons. The whole region has probably been glaciated several times from both the Cordilleran and the Keewatin ice centres, but a series of frequent invasions of long continued occupation by the ice sheets has left little evidence of interglacial periods, such as are found in the Great Lakes area of the United States.

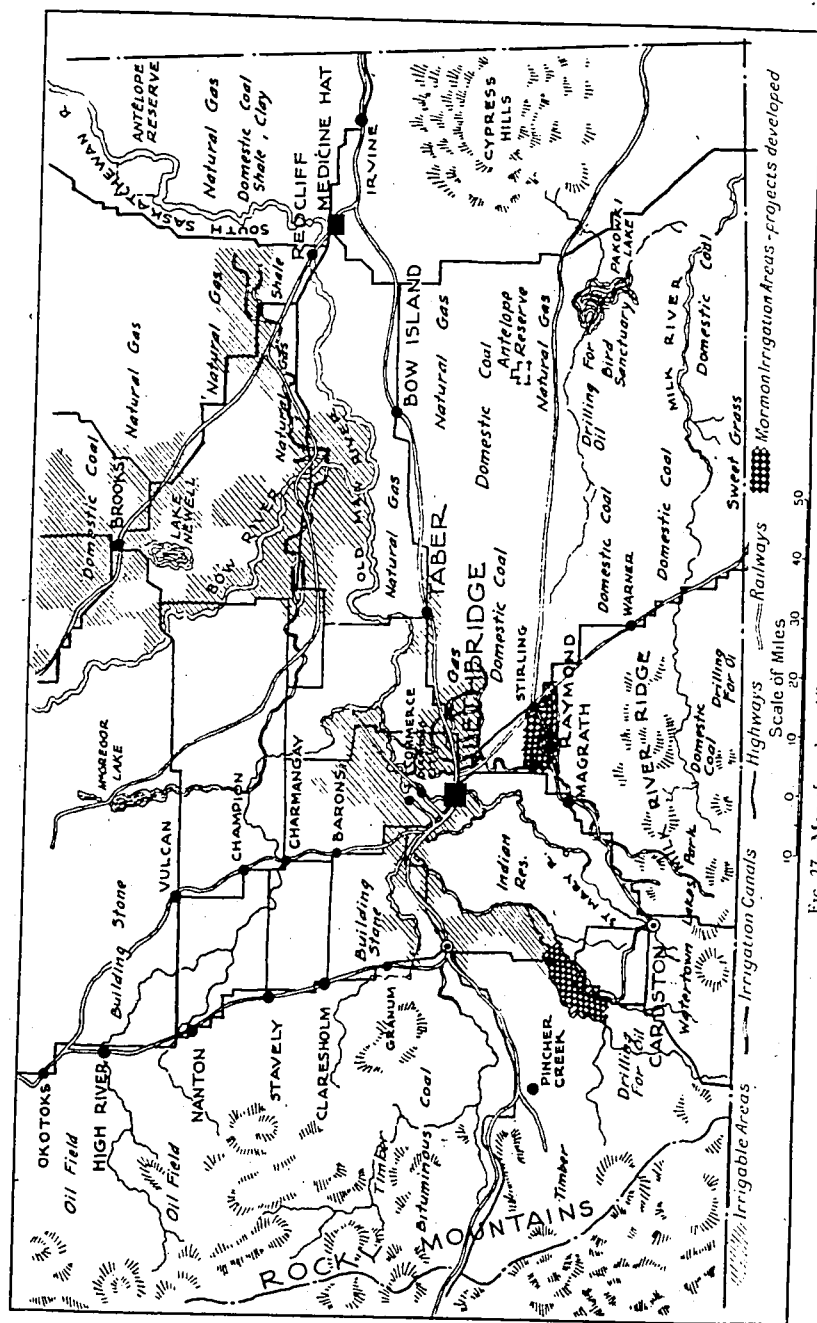


Fig. 27—Map of southern Alberta showing the Mormon country.

3. *Natural Resources and Climatic Conditions*

There are deposits of coal near Lethbridge which were discovered in the decade of the seventies and the exploitation of which began in the eighties. Their development in relation to settlement will be considered later (see Chapter XI). These coal deposits are being worked today and coal mining is one of the leading occupations in Lethbridge. Natural gas is also found in the area, while southward near the international boundary drilling for oil is being carried on. The foothills west of Macleod and Pincher Creek have commercial timber supplies, but further south, in the area directly west of Cardston, the stand of timber is limited and of low value.

Grazing lands form probably the most important natural resource. In altitudes of 4,000 feet or more the short growing season prohibits grain growing, and ranching is therefore the only industry. South of Pincher Creek and Spring Coulee wheat is damaged by early fall frosts during 3 out of 5 years, but oats and rye ripen without difficulty. The areas best suited to wheat growing extend westward from Raymond to St. Mary's River, and include about 5 townships. Wheat grown here is of highest quality and yields have averaged as high as 30 to 40 bushels per acre. Sugar-beets and alfalfa are grown successfully in irrigated sections of the Raymond-Magrath district, near Lethbridge, and in the Glenwood-Hillcrest district, west of the Blood Indian Reserve.

The Mormon settlement lies partly in the dark brown soil zones and partly in the transitional zone of dark brown to black soil, (Fig. 28).⁴ The latter comprises the area lying south of a line drawn from Pincher Creek to Spring Coulee, and extending about 15 to 20 miles east of the latter point. From there the border line of the transitional zone turns southwest until it meets the international boundary at a point almost directly south of the village of Aetna. The area of dark brown soils extends east of this transitional zone to a point about 6 to 8 miles east of Stirling where the brown soils of the arid prairie begin.

The best populated Mormon settlements are in the dark brown soil zone. Here the annual rainfall-evaporation ratio is higher than in the brown soil zone,⁵ and the native vegetation has therefore

⁴ Data on soils in the Mormon settlement have been supplied by O. R. Younge, M.Sc., formerly research assistant in the Soils Department, University of Alberta.

⁵ The soils of the brown belt have developed under a rainfall-evaporation of about 0.7, that is, the

$$\text{evaporation ratio} = \frac{\text{inches of mean annual rainfall}}{\text{inches of mean annual evaporation from a free-water surface.}}$$

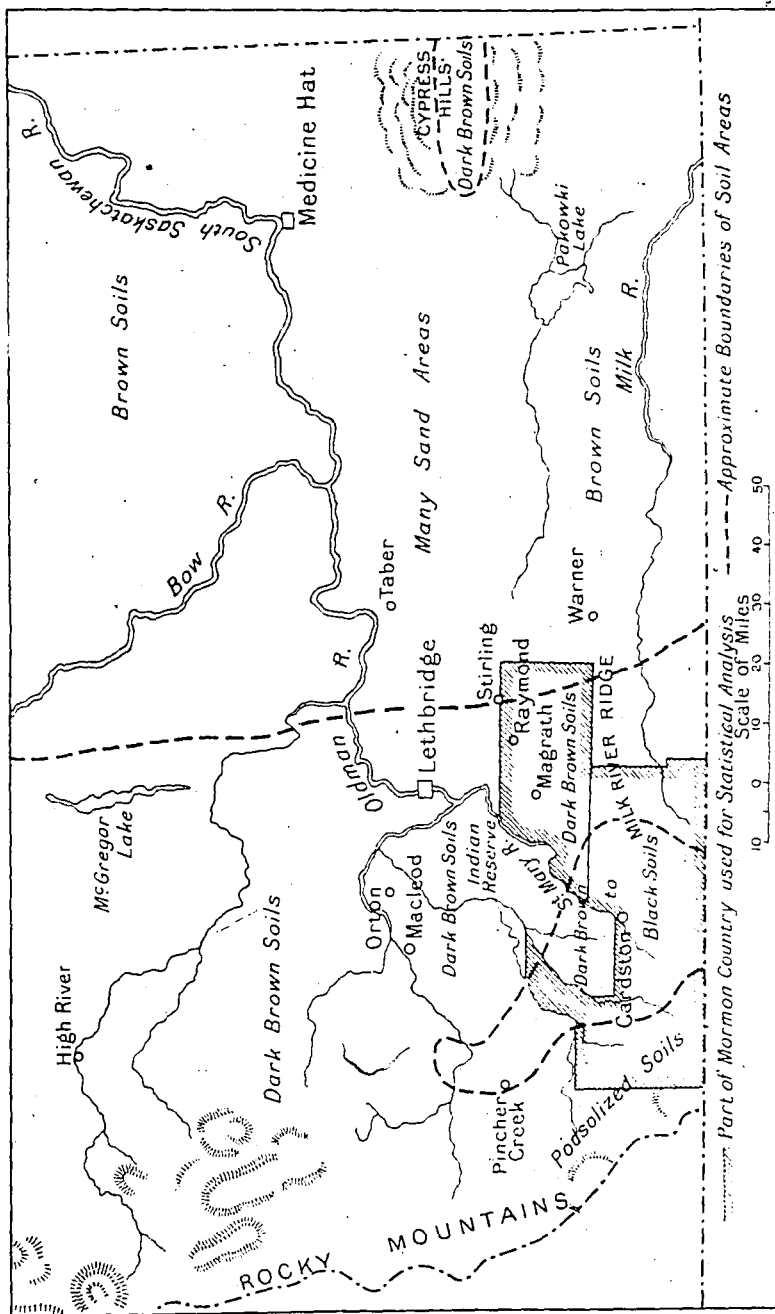


FIG. 28.—Generalized soil map of southern Alberta showing the Mormon country

been more abundant. This again has permitted a greater accumulation of organic matter and resulted in the darker colour of the soil. Carbonate and other less mobile soil materials have accumulated only a short distance below the surface. Alkali areas, however, are infrequent and small, which indicates that the more soluble salts have usually been leached to greater depths. The great wheat-producing areas of the Prairie Provinces have soils of this type and are justly renowned for their high productivity.

The dark-brown-to-black soils are transitional as the name implies. They extend to depths of 4 to 10 inches and the soils immediately below are chocolate-coloured or reddish-brown. The native vegetation is more abundant and varied than in the dark brown soil area, especially in regard to long grass species. These soils are very fertile but the short frost-free season makes the area best suited for grazing and forage purposes.

The climate is characterized by a predominant summer rainfall and a wide range of temperature between summer and winter. The rainfall during the growing season, that is, the months of May, June, and July, amounts to nearly fifty per cent. of the annual precipitation. The monthly precipitation at Lethbridge, as recorded for the period 1902-1929 inclusive, shows a high degree of variability and the total precipitation varies greatly from year to year.⁶ In 1902, for example, the total precipitation at Lethbridge was 27.93 inches, and the rainfall for May alone in that year was 11.27 inches. The opposite extreme occurred in 1918 when the annual precipitation was only 7.62 inches, and the rainfall for May was 0.58 inches.⁷

The seasonal range of temperature in southern Alberta is very wide. The highest monthly mean temperature at Lethbridge, 1902-1929, was 69.0° F. in July, 1906, the lowest was -8.9° F. in January, 1916. The variations from year to year in corresponding monthly mean temperatures is perhaps even more significant. The mean temperature for December, 1903, and 1925, for example, was 32.2° F. compared with 6.5° F. in 1917. Again, the mean

⁶ See, in this series, Vol. I, Table VIII. Unofficial information indicates that the annual rainfall had been scanty during the period between 1884 and 1895, and the area later settled by the Mormons had come to be designated the "arid region". But the rainfall was apparently abundant during the years of most rapid Mormon migration, that is, immediately preceding 1902. These so-called "wet" years coincided with the period when the irrigation canal was constructed. The sale of water rights to the farmers proceeded very slowly since most of them decided to subscribe to irrigation for only a fraction of their land.

⁷ See also Chapter XI for diary material on crop conditions in the Orton district for the years 1919-23.

temperature for September, the harvest month, was 59.9° F. in 1913, but only 43.1° F. in 1926.

Records kept at the Dominion Experimental Farms near Lethbridge for the period 1902-1929 inclusive show that the time between the last killing frost in the spring (29° F.) and the first killing frost in the fall averaged 121 days. But here again the variations between different years are very great. The shortest frost-free season was 84 days in 1903, while the longest was 148 days in 1905 and 1908. By way of comparison it may be stated that the average frost-free season for Salt Lake City, Utah, over a period of 56 years is 184 days. But there are undoubtedly many Mormon districts in both Utah and Idaho which have even shorter growing seasons than Lethbridge.

The high altitudes and the northern exposure of the Mormon settlement in Alberta are circumstances which explain the cool nights and the occasional unseasonal frosts.

Wind is an important climatic factor to the people in southern Alberta because it causes a great deal of soil drifting. Strip-farming has been resorted to in many localities in order to minimize the damage from this source. This method involves the alternating of strips of fallow land with those of crop land, in order that the growing crops or the stubble may act as a windbreak for the adjacent fallow land. The average wind-velocity at the Lethbridge Experimental Farm, 1922-1929 was 11.4 miles per hour but from October to May the average velocities are above the annual average.

The chinook winds, blowing through the mountain passes to the west and southwest, greatly modify the climate of southern Alberta. They are warm in winter and cool in summer, and it is not unusual for them to follow a snowstorm and melt the snow in a few hours. Since these winds are dry they increase the rate of evaporation, or as the pioneers say, "the chinook licks up the snow."

One of the early settlers at Raymond tells of a heavy snowfall in the winter of 1918-1919, which was followed by a warm chinook:

In a few hours every little gully was a raging torrent, so rapidly did the snow melt. But gradually the wind switched in direction from the southwest around to the north. The mercury in the thermometer dropped to sixty below, and the entire prairie suddenly turned into a block of ice. The cattle were absolutely helpless. They could not find anything to eat, and they could be moved only with the greatest difficulty.

During that fateful year the losses to the stockmen of Alberta

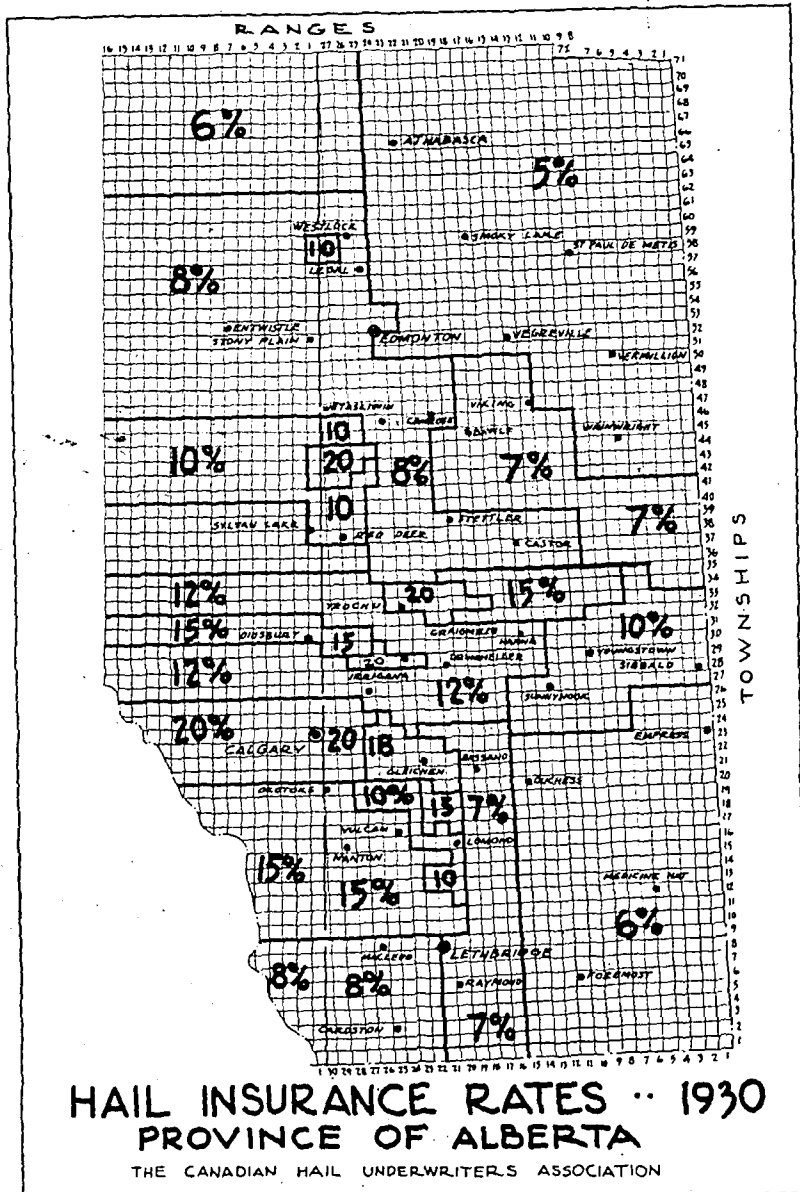


Fig. 29- Hail insurance rates for Alberta, 1930.

were tremendous. Mr. Raymond Knight declared that he spent \$3,000 on railway freight alone in shipping his cattle to Texas and elsewhere for pasture and feed.

The damage done by hail storms is another factor to be considered by the settlers in southern Alberta. But the insurance rates charged in various parts of the province by the Canadian Hail Underwriters' Association (Fig. 29) indicate that hail is less prevalent in the Mormon settlement than in the more densely-populated districts between Macleod and Edmonton. The chart also suggests that hail storms are more common in the western part of the Mormon country than in the irrigated sections near Lethbridge and Raymond.

With regard to climatic conditions as a whole, it may be said that ordinarily the frost-free period allows for the maturing of field crops in this area but killing frosts have done much damage on occasions. The more freakish factors include great variations in rainfall and high winds, the latter causing excessive evaporation and soil-drifting. Taken as a whole the area is semi-arid. Certain districts east of where the Mormons live are excessively dry, and are suitable only for grazing. In some of the Mormon districts good crops have been secured by applying methods of moisture conservation. But the many costly irrigation projects in and about this area are indications of the aridity that threatens the livelihood of so many of its constituent communities. It must be added, however, that where irrigation is practised it has made for a more diversified agriculture.

4. Agriculture of the Area

While the major crop in the Mormon settlement is spring wheat, the growing of sugar-beets has been an important development during the period 1903-1915 and since 1925. The production of beets, of course, would be impossible here were it not for the existence of irrigation facilities. Alfalfa is also grown on irrigated land and attempts are made to increase the production of this crop for winter feed.

In the non-irrigated areas the central problem of soil management is that of moisture conservation. This includes the practice of summer fallowing which involves the storing-up of moisture of one growing season for the following year's crop. Summer fallowing also serves as a method of weed control, an ever-present problem in an area where high winds carry weed seeds many miles.

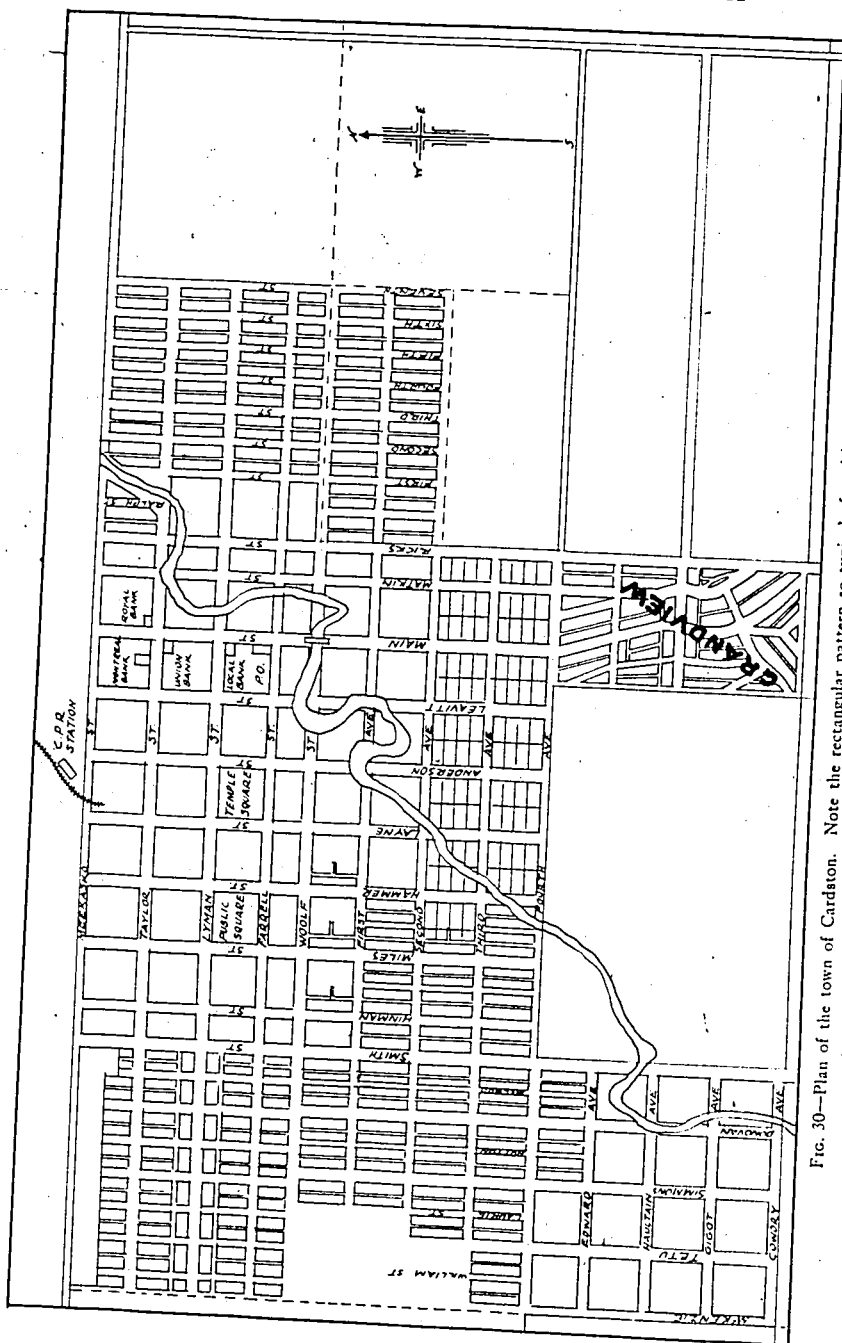


FIG. 30—Plan of the town of Cardston. Note the rectangular pattern so typical of prairie towns in North America.

Sometimes the farmer ploughs his stubble in the spring and sows wheat again without the intervening summer fallow. Again, he may disc or harrow the land before drilling in the seed, or he may just drill the seed into the stubble without any surface treatment. Records of unusual success attending the latter practice—in years of abundant rainfall—have led many farmers to gamble with this method each year.

The prevailing rotation, then, outside of the irrigated sections, is wheat and fallow. Weed and insect problems make the introduction of tilled crops highly desirable, but not much encouragement is forthcoming in the way of developing a satisfactory crop for this purpose. Corn, potatoes, and sunflowers can be grown successfully on irrigated land but the market for these products is limited.

Recent agricultural trends will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter XII.

5. *Migration of Capital*

A great deal of capital is needed in the development of a new country. Human labour alone, even though well organized, is relatively ineffective in meeting the demands of pioneering, and it may be said with some certainty that given adequate initial capital the possibility of material success becomes much greater.

In the case of the Mormon settlement, the migration of capital paralleled the movement of people. Capital came from four main sources: (a) the settlers themselves; (b) the Mormon Church in Utah; (c) capitalists in Utah, Eastern Canada, and England; (d) contractors.

(a) Many of the Mormon pioneers brought teams, farm equipment, and moderate bank accounts with them to Canada. Charles O. Card's wife had inherited a fortune of approximately \$30,000 from her father, Brigham Young, and she is said to have invested \$25,000 of this in Canada. Her money helped to purchase a steam thrasher and to finish an irrigation ditch in 1889, to build a saw-mill, a flour-mill, a coöperative store, a meat market, and a creamery in 1891. While fortunes of this size were rare, the aggregate of lesser sums constituted a fund which greatly accelerated the growth of the new community.

(b) Another important source of capital for the Canadian communities was the fund supplied by the sponsoring institution, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Church

provided \$300 towards an exploration trip made by Charles O. Card and other Mormon pioneers. Card's journal of April 5th, 1899, records the receipt of \$1,000 from the Church for the aid of Lee's Creek colony, the money being used to buy land. The Church also sent about 500 head of cattle to Canada. While this herd was not donated to the settlers, it provided employment for them and proved a source from which they might, through purchase, secure the foundation of herds for themselves. The most significant amount of church capital was that involved in the purchase of the Cochrane ranch which consisted of some 60,000 acres of arable land. It was purchased by the Church in 1906 at the recommendation of President Wood of Alberta Stake "for the express purpose of providing a place where home-loving people could establish the kind of homes for themselves that would bring prosperity and stability to the country."⁸ More than one-half of this land was irrigated, and it is now occupied by about 900 people. The remaining ranch land is operated by the Church and is used for cattle and sheep raising. The Mormon Church in Utah also helped to finance the Alberta Temple at Cardston which was completed in 1923 at a cost of approximately \$800,000. But perhaps its largest enterprise in Canada was the heavy investment made by the Canadian Sugar Factory, Limited, which built a sugar factory at Raymond in 1925 at a cost of about \$1,500,000.⁹

(c) A good deal of capital flowed into the Mormon country through conventional investment channels. The Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company, financed by Canadian and British capital, had been interested in various projects, including coal mines, river boats, agricultural land, railways, and irrigation canals (see Chapter XI for more details). Moreover, the Canadian Pacific Railway assisted Mormon settlement schemes and later took over the railways built by smaller companies. Heavy investments were also made by wealthy Mormons of Utah. Among these were Jesse Knight and his son Raymond, who bought 300,000 acres of land near Raymond¹⁰ and incorporated the Knight Sugar Company in 1902 with a capital of \$1,000,000. The Ellison Milling and Elevator Company, which was also financed by Utah capitalists, built flour-mills, first in Raymond and later in Lethbridge. It also

⁸ From a brochure entitled *A Few Facts and Statements about the United Irrigation District*, published under the direction of the residents of the United Irrigation District, Alberta.

⁹ The first sugar factory built by the Knight interests at Raymond was a failure and had been dismantled in 1915. The Canadian Sugar Factory, Ltd. is a subsidiary of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company.

¹⁰ This town is named after Raymond Knight who is still a resident in the community.

built the Lethbridge terminal elevators and now operates country elevators at twenty shipping points throughout the Mormon country.

(d) The contractors who moved their construction outfits across the international boundary in early pioneer days constituted the fourth main source of capital for the Mormon settlement. Many of these men brought from 10 to 20 teams, wagons, and other equipment into Canada, where they engaged in construction work on railways and irrigation canals. One man, whose contracts over a period of 12 to 14 years totalled over \$2,000,000, brought work horses and equipment valued at approximately \$50,000. It is significant to note in this connection that it was Mormons who brought the original capital to southern Alberta, and this in turn attracted further investment from non-Mormon sources. Since the settlement was sponsored by the mother church in Utah it was natural that its people should be given the preference in practically all the new developments. The poorer Mormons were thus able to earn ready money either in or near the new communities until their farms began to yield the means of living.

6. *Growth of Population*

Mormon settlement in Alberta dates back to the late 1880's and migration continued at irregular intervals during the next quarter of a century. In 1901 Alberta had 3,212 Mormons, or 46.6 per cent. of all the Mormons in Canada. Thirty years later the Alberta figure reached 13,185 or 59.9 per cent. of the total for Canada.¹¹ It is of interest here to note that Ontario was an area of Mormon concentration long before Utah Mormons migrated to Alberta. But the growth of the sect in the former province was due to proselytizing by Mormon missionaries rather than the result of migration. Mormons in Ontario totalled 3,377 in 1901 and 6,184 in 1931, but their proportion relative to the total for Canada dropped in that period from 49 to 28 per cent.

Our present concern, however, is to trace the growth of population in southern Alberta, and to note the extent to which the older Mormon communities here have been penetrated by non-Mormon settlement.

¹¹ *Census of Canada, 1901* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), Vol. 1, Table 10; 1931, Bull. No. XXI. The 1901 figure quoted above applies to the district of Alberta, at that time a part of the North West Territories, while the 1931 total applies to a much larger area which in 1905 was organized as the province of Alberta. The Mormon country lies wholly within that part of the old territorial district which now forms a part of the province of the same name, and figures quoted above for the two census periods are therefore quite comparable.

In Table XXX the growth of population since 1901 is shown for the rural areas of greatest Mormon concentration and for four principal Mormon towns. Percentage increases of 34.9 and 31.4 for the five-year periods ending in 1906 and 1911 coincide with the decade of most rapid railway expansion. Uneven rates of growth have marked the five-year periods since 1916, as evidenced by an increase of 28.2 per cent. in 1926 followed by an increase of only 7.5 per cent. in 1931. But the area studied is still one of sparse rural settlement as seen from the fact that one-half of it has less

TABLE XXX—GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THE MORMON COUNTRY, 1901-1931*

YEAR	RURAL AREAS OF GREATEST MORMON CONCENTRATION†		PRINCIPAL MORMON TOWNS**	
	Number of Persons	Percentage Increase Over Preceding Census Year	Number of Persons	Percentage Increase Over Preceding Census Year
1901.....	2,063	....	1,412	....
1906.....	2,783	34.9	3,891	175.6
1911.....	3,656	31.4	4,181	7.5
1916.....	4,371	19.6	3,807	-9.0
1921.....	5,546	26.9	4,369	14.8
1926.....	7,112	28.2	5,361	22.7
1931.....	7,643	7.5	5,121	-4.5

* *Census of Alberta, 1906* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), Table 1; 1916, Table 4; 1926, Table 20. *Census of Canada, 1921*, Table 16; 1931, Bull. No. XX.

† Includes the municipalities of Cochrane (No. 10) and Sugar City (No. 37), and also Local Improvement Districts Nos. 8, 9, and 38.

** Includes Cardston, Magrath, Raymond, and Stirling.

than 5 persons per square mile. The remaining half which includes the irrigated sections has a density of 5 to 10 persons per square mile.¹² Population figures for four of the principal Mormon towns show wide fluctuations between successive census periods. The 1901-1906 increase of 175.6 per cent. is partly explained by the incorporation of Raymond, a new railway and irrigation centre with 1,568 people. Cardston, Magrath, and Stirling, which were incorporated a few years earlier, also grew rapidly until 1906, but later on their population totals fluctuated at varying rates. Cardston, the "holy city" of Mormons in Alberta, owes its steady growth until 1926 mainly to its importance as a religious centre. Since then its population has decreased by 362 people. Raymond's

¹² See Volume I of this series, Fig. 48, p. 67.

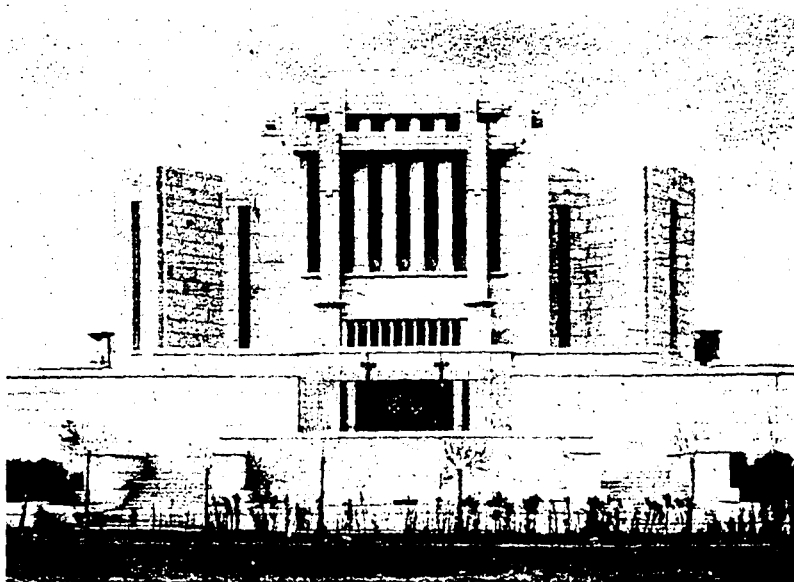


FIG. 31—The Mormon Temple at Cardston, Alberta.



FIG. 32—View of the Temple at night.

population decline of over 363 in the decade ending in 1916 came at the end of the railway boom era, and is in part explained also by the closing of the Knight beet-sugar factory in 1915. In the next 15 years, however, there was an increase of some 644 people, an upswing which is related to the establishment of a new beet-sugar factory. Magrath, a town in the centre of an irrigated area, has increased steadily from 884 in 1906 to 1,202 in 1926, and since then the total has changed very little. The village of Stirling experienced a minor boom during the first 10 years of this century,

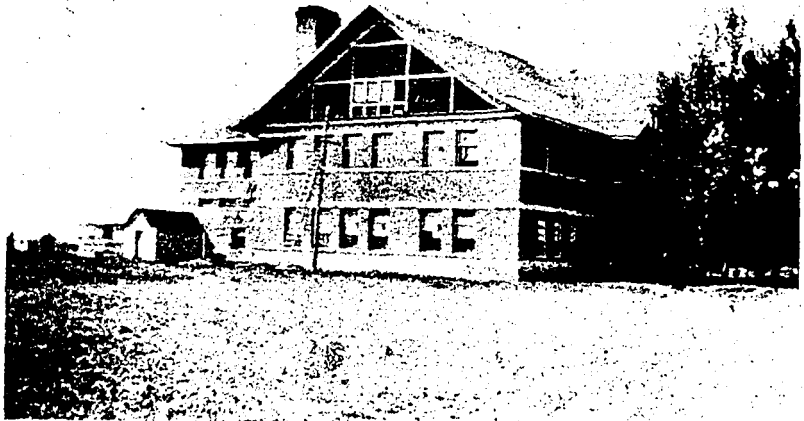


FIG. 33—Public high school at Raymond, Alberta. This building was formerly the Knight Academy.

when its population increased by about 165 people, but there was a greater decline during the next 5 years. Since 1916 its total has varied between 300 and 400 persons. The preceding details show that local circumstances, no less than region-wide factors such as railway booms and general economic depressions, have influenced the growth of these Mormon centres.

The trends in the sex ratio during 1901-1911 for the Mormon Country (see Appendix Table IV) show an excess of males in rural areas similar to that for the province of Alberta as a whole. Since 1911, the surplus of males has been 10 to 13 per cent. greater in

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rural Mormon areas than for Alberta as a whole. The sex ratios for the Mormon towns show a general tendency towards a balance but there are marked differences in the trends for individual towns for given years, as indicated in 1926 by ratios of 123, 107, and 102 males per 100 females for Raymond, Cardston, and Stirling,

TABLE XXXI—PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN THE MORMON COUNTRY, ALBERTA, 1901-1931*

RELIGIOUS GROUPS	1901		1911		1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.
a. Rural Areas:†								
Total Population.	**	**	**	**	5,546	100. 0	7,643	100.0
Mormons					3,037	54.8	4,015	52.5
Other Protestants					1,963	35.4	2,724	35.6
Roman Catholics					300	5.4	716	9.4
Others					246	4.4	188	2.5
b. Principal Mormon Towns:††								
Total Population.	1,860	100.0	4,181	100.0	4,369	100.0	5,121	100.0
Mormons	1,742	93.7	3,504	83.8	3,617	82.8	4,053	79.2
Other Protestants	89	4.8	561	13.4	529	12.1	677	13.2
Roman Catholics	8	0.4	48	1.2	97	2.2	303	5.9
Others	21	1.1	68	1.6	126	2.9	88	1.7

* *Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. I, Table 10; 1911, Vol. II, Table 2; 1921, Vol. I, Table 38; 1931, Bull. No. XXI, Table 7.*

† Includes the areas of greatest Mormon concentration, viz., the municipalities of Cochrane (10), and Sugar City (37), and also Local Improvement Districts Nos. 8, 9, and 38. Data on principal religious groups are not available on a municipal basis before 1921.

** No data available.

†† Cardston, Magrath, Raymond, and Stirling.

respectively. The large surplus of males in Raymond, more characteristic of a rural area, is related to its importance as a centre for the sugar-beet industry.

Some idea of the regional concentration of the Mormons in Alberta is obtained by an analysis of principal religious groups in rural and urban sections. In rural areas the Mormons, while still an absolute majority, have declined in proportionate strength during

the last decade from 54.8 to 52.5 per cent. of the general population. Other Protestants, mainly Anglicans, members of the United Church, Lutherans, and Mennonites, account for approximately 36 per cent. of the rural population. Roman Catholics are a small minority but they have shown a proportionate increase of 4 per

TABLE XXXII—PRINCIPAL ETHNIC ORIGINS IN THE MORMON COUNTRY, ALBERTA, 1901-1931*

ETHNIC GROUPS	1901		1911		1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER CENT.
a. Rural Areas:†								
Total Population.	**	**	**	**	5,546	100.0	7,643	100.0
British.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,293	59.4	3,958	51.8
Dutch & German.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,169	21.1	1,914	25.0
Scandinavian.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	639	11.5	854	11.2
Others.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	445	8.0	917	12.0
b. Principal Mormon Towns:††								
Total Population.	1,860	100.0	4,181	100.0	4,369	100.0	5,121	100.0
British.....	1,493	80.3	2,822	67.5	3,467	79.4	3,585	70.0
Dutch & German.....	127	6.8	232	5.3	172	3.9	479	9.4
Scandinavian.....	194	10.4	430	10.3	476	10.9	607	11.8
Others.....	46	2.5	707	16.9	254	5.8	450	8.8

* *Census of Canada, 1901*, Vol. I, Table 11; *1911*, Vol. II, Table 7; *1921*, Vol. I, Table 27; *1931*, Bull. No. XXII, Table 3.

† Includes the areas of greatest Mormon concentration, viz., the municipalities of Cochrane (10) and Sugar City (37) and also Local Improvement Districts Nos. 8, 9, and 38. Data on ethnic origins are not available on a municipal basis before 1921.

** No data available.

†† Includes Cardston, Magrath, Raymond, and Stirling.

cent. since 1921. It is significant to note that the group classified as "others" included 137 Confucians or Buddhists in 1931, presumably Orientals engaged in the sugar-beet industry.¹³ Chinese are also prominent in the restaurant business of the various Mormon towns. But it is in the urban areas that we find the greatest

¹³ This inference is further corroborated by the fact that the 1931 Census Bull. No. XXII listed 153 Japanese or Chinese for Sugar City, one of the rural municipalities whose figures are included in Table XXXI.

concentration of Mormons and Table XXXI indicates that in 1931 they comprised 79.2 per cent. of the total population in the four towns studied. Continued penetration by non-Mormons is indicated since the turn of the century and particularly during the first decade when the Mormon proportion declined from 93.7 to 83.8 per cent. The corresponding gain was made by other Protestant groups, chiefly by the Anglicans, the Lutherans, and the United Church.

Analysis of ethnic origins in the Mormon Country supplements the data on religious distribution. Table XXXII shows that the British¹⁴ are the predominant group in both rural and urban areas. The other ethnic groups in order of their importance in rural areas are the Dutch-German people, the Scandinavians, and the group classified as "others". In urban centres the ranking of the Scandinavian and Dutch-German groups is reversed, and these two groups together with that classified "others" comprised 30 per cent. of the total population in 1931.¹⁵

The Mormons in southern Alberta probably represent an ethnic distribution somewhat similar to that found among their brethren in Utah or Idaho. While people of Anglo-Saxon descent predominate, the sect also includes a number of Scandinavians and German-Americans, whose parents or grandparents migrated to western United States during the nineteenth century. It goes without saying that English is the language used both in the home and in the church.

The present chapter has outlined the ecological base of the Mormon country, its natural resources, and the limitations imposed by highly variable climatic factors. Some notion has also been given of the sources and amounts of capital used in developing its resources. Finally, the growth of population and its component religious and ethnic elements have been set forth for the most typical Mormon areas. The discussion in the following chapter will centre on the settlement process, with its problems and its achievements.

¹⁴ The term "British" is here used as an alternative to "Anglo-Saxon", and would therefore include Utah Mormons whose ancestors were New Englanders of Anglo-Saxon origin, or British migrants to Utah.

¹⁵ A number of small Danish settlements were formed early in this century, among them Aetna, a little community southeast of Cardston. These people were not Mormons, but they have long since been outnumbered by people of other ethnic groups. Data are not available to indicate whether or not they have been won over to the Mormon faith.

CHAPTER XI

SETTLEMENT PROCESS

1. Motivation of Mormon Immigration to Alberta

MORMON settlement in Canada began in 1887 and continued through the three decades which followed. The original movement, as already mentioned, was prompted by political crises arising out of the polygamy question in Utah.¹ The next wave of migration in 1899 was stimulated by a new set of factors. The Mormons had utilized the available resources of the Great Basin and were seeking new economic opportunities. The development of the coal mining industry in southern Alberta, together with the building of a railway to reach the United States coal market immediately to the south, further stimulated Mormon migration to Alberta. This situation also illustrates the role which an earlier industrial development plays in land settlement. In this instance the railway, essential to coal mining, made accessible the lands through which it passed. The movement of the Mormons to Canada, furthermore, had a basis in nationalistic sentiment. The president of the church at the time was of British birth² and had lived in Canada four years before his conversion to Mormonism. There were also many British subjects among Mormon converts. The United States Census of 1880 indicates that among the foreign-born residents of Utah those from England ranked first in number. This sketch of motivation would be incomplete if some reference were not made to incentives which were primarily personal. Some persons were discontented with their social status and occupational achievement in their own communities and wished to make a fresh

¹ This situation in Utah accounts for the settlement by the Mormons in northern Mexico at about the same time.

² John Taylor, who succeeded Brigham Young as President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, was born in Milnthorpe, Westmoreland, England, on November 1, 1808. At fourteen years of age he was apprenticed to a cooper in Liverpool, and subsequently learned the trade of a turner at Penrich in Cumberland. He was baptized in his infancy into the Church of England, but at the age of about sixteen years he joined the Methodist Church. A year later he was acting as local preacher. About this time he became convinced that he was to go to America to preach the Gospel. He did not come to America, however, until about 1832. His parents preceded him and had settled in Toronto, where he rejoined them upon his arrival. In the new land he became a Methodist preacher. In Toronto he first became acquainted with Mormonism through Parley P. Pratt, one of the apostles of the new church, who brought about his conversion to the new faith. He was baptized into the Mormon Church in 1836.

start. Such motives are integral elements in all movements to new regions.

2. *Settlement of Cardston*

The historical incident which began the Canadian migration was the result of determined efforts of federal officers to capture Charles Ora Card, President of the Cache Valley Stake of the Mormon Church, and a polygamist, in order to convict him under the Edmunds Act. Upon the advice and counsel of President John Taylor, Card organized an exploring party to find a place of refuge on Canadian soil. He intended to go to Mexico, but President Taylor advised him to settle on British soil.

Only one member of the three in Card's party was free from threat of arrest under the Edmunds law and it was intended that he should bring back to President Taylor a report of the explorations. While their tentative destination was British Columbia, the route of the party was along the Snake River through Idaho; thence to Spokane, Washington, down the Colville River to the Columbia at Marcus, up the Kettle River as far as Rock Creek, then on to Osoyoos Lake, thence west and north to Kamloops, where they took the train east to Calgary. They explored south from Calgary, via Ft. McLeod (now Macleod) and Standoff.

On October 24 we decided that Standoff, between the Belly and Kootenay Rivers, was an excellent place for settlement. While John W. Hendricks guarded camp, Bishop Zundell and myself went out into the prairie between the two rivers named and bowed before the Lord and dedicated and invoked the blessings of God upon the land and water, and asked His preservation of the same for the benefit of Israel,³ both white and red.⁴

The tract of land thus dedicated is situated about 20 miles north of the present site of Cardston. In his report to President Taylor Card recommended this site for the proposed settlement.

This first trip cost \$900, of which the Latter-day Saint Church paid \$300. The balance was subscribed by men in Cache Valley and the explorers themselves. The party returned to Utah for the winter, and in the following spring another party was organized under Card and arrived at Standoff on April 17, 1887.

³ Mormon theology holds that the American Indian is a blood descendant of ancient Israel, through Lehi, who after the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel set sail for America. Through his sons Laman and Lemuel, who were cursed with a dark skin for disobedience, the present Indians are descended, according to belief. The story is recounted in *The Book of Mormon*.

⁴ Card kept an excellent diary throughout his life in Canada. The diary is written in several small diary books, which are now preserved in the vault of the Latter-day Saint Temple at Cardston, Alberta. This diary is one of the best sources for the study of Mormons in Western Canada.

The next day we commenced our explorations for the most suitable site on which to locate. But to my astonishment, the most desirable lands between the Belly River and Ft. McLeod were covered by stock leases, and we could not settle on them, without much perplexity from the lease holders.⁴

They continued their explorations until April 26th, "when we unanimously voted to plant our colony on Lee's Creek, adjacent to the south boundary of the Blood Indian Reserve."

Card tells of a dream he had in which bees were seen arriving at a hive, and this satisfied him that they had settled at the right spot. They planted gardens of "onions, lettuce, carrots, beets, radishes, and potatoes," and left May 3rd for Utah to get their families.

These first settlers were all from Cache Valley and for the most part were men who were subject to prosecution under the Edmunds Act. The procedure of selecting the members of the colony was somewhat as follows: President Card made a list of those who were desirous of going, and submitted this list to President John Taylor for approval. There is no evidence of men being "called" by the church to participate in this settlement. President Card used his influence to induce men to volunteer because he was convinced that there was a future for Canada, and that those who went would prosper. Moreover, it was not difficult to persuade men to go to a place which promised immunity from political persecution.

Only a portion of those who originally volunteered, however, finally made the trip to Canada. The 1887 contingent consisted of 8 families with teams, cattle, farm implements, and household goods. They were piloted across St. Mary's River by Sergeant Brimner of the Northwest Mounted Police. A few days later the first religious service was held. President Card's record of this event is of interest.

Sunday, June 5. The settlers held their first meeting on Lee's Creek in the tent of Elder Josiah Hammer . . . All of the party were exiles from the United States and many of them had been unable to attend meetings for a long time previous. The little colony now numbered 41 souls.

This entry in the diary indicates that the church was one of the earliest of the social institutions to receive the attention of the colony.

3. *Isolated Pioneer Community*

The work of community building was begun in earnest. Although they had arrived late in the season, the settlers succeeded in

⁴ Card's diary.

growing some oats, potatoes, and garden vegetables. President Card notes in his diary:

Our seeds all came up excellently. The Lord overruled the elements in our favour so that refreshing showers and damp weather continued till our vegetables and grain came up nicely. We acknowledge the hand of God in all this. He certainly blessed the labours of our hands. We found the soil quick and productive, notwithstanding the northern clime.

Elsewhere he reports that he raised about 100 bushels of oats on about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land.

The people brought few provisions and little money. The economic security of the community during that first critical winter was aided by employment provided by the Cochrane ranch. Mr. Cochrane engaged the men to put up hay, build fences, and do other work about the ranch.

Numerous tasks confronted the pioneer community that first year. They had to build roads into the mountains to get timber and fence posts for their houses and farms. They also had to plan the town site and construct a meeting house in which to conduct church and school.

By December new additions to the group brought the total population to about 90. Construction was begun on a meeting house $20 \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the structure being completed on January 24, 1888. One chronicler reports that "the people indulged in a grand house-warming, having a great time of rejoicing" to celebrate the occasion. Card says that the structure was dedicated on February 2, "for meeting, school, and social purposes."

Fuel was an important problem to these early settlers, inasmuch as there was no timber readily accessible around Cardston. Some wood was picked up along Lee's Creek, and a low grade of coal was discovered about 4 miles up the creek.

The town was laid out in a manner typical of pioneer Mormon communities. The following entry in Card's diary describes the procedure:

June 19, 1887. A council meeting was held after the close of the afternoon services for the purpose of determining the amount of land necessary for a city and the best way of drawing for land. After all the brethren present had expressed their opinions, it was thought best to locate the town on the bench on the south side of Lee's Creek, provided water could be easily obtained; if not, to build on the creek bottom. It was decided by unanimous vote that the brethren unite together and sink a well on the bench; also that a piece of land extending a mile in length and half a mile in width be selected as a town

site, that the quarter sections of land be numbered and corresponding numbers be placed in a hat and the brethren draw for numbers.⁶

Reference has already been made to the earliest religious activities. A Sunday School was organized in June 1887, about a month after the arrival of the first group. A complete ward organization was set up 15 months later, on October 7, 1888. The ward was named "Card" and John A. Woolf was made bishop. Apostles F. M. Lyman and J. W. Taylor of Salt Lake City were present.

School was held during the summer of 1888, and for about 10 weeks during the winter of 1889 H. S. Allen taught a school of about 40 pupils.

In December, 1888, a stock company with a capital of \$7,000[✓] was organized as a general store. Men subscribed for stock at \$5 a share and were given opportunity to work out the value by labour on a new meeting house. Since nearly everyone subscribed for stock, it practically amounted to a coöperative community store. At first, goods were bought in Lethbridge, but later they were purchased from Winnipeg and Montreal. In 1894, the store paid a 25 per cent. dividend on the \$7,000 capital and had a surplus and undivided profit of \$4,500. President Card was manager of the project for many years.

In 1890 a cheese factory was constructed in Cardston with a capacity of 1,000 pounds a day. Much was expected of this industry by the leaders of the colony. President Card in his diary of Sunday, June 21, reports that he gave formal notice to the community of the completion of the factory which was to open the next day, and that "we desired the milk of the people on the morrow." On the following day he makes this entry:

June 22. Today was full of interest; at 7 a.m. the milk wagon began to rattle around and by 9.30 a.m. when 263 gallons of milk [were] in and although the factory was full of people, Mr. Robert Ibey, who had charge, began his work and was fairly successful with today's run. Thus ended a noted day for Cardston in an enterprise that will be of vast importance to the people here.

In 1891 this institution was amalgamated with the coöperative store, and both were managed by President Card. The production of the cheese factory in the early years was as follows:

1891.....	36,700 pounds
1892.....	53,217 "

⁶ If this refers to the town site, it obviously should be blocks or lots instead of quarter sections, since drawings could not be for such large units of land.

1893.....	38,184 pounds
1894.....	27,594 "

It is still an important institution in Cardston.

A saw-and-shingle mill and a French-burr grist-mill were purchased in 1891. The grist-mill, which cost \$2,000, was operated by a stock company. The year 1892 saw the construction of a new store building and a new meeting house. It will be noted that this was the third meeting house to be built, each one being larger than the preceding one. In the same year a post office was established at Cardston, with a postmaster who is said to be the first Latter-day Saint to hold civil office in Western Canada. For a period of five years, previous to the establishment of the post office, the people of Cardston had carried their own mail, first from Macleod and later from Lethbridge. The community was further linked with the outside world when in 1894 a telephone line was built between Lethbridge and Cardston.

One of the interesting features of the pioneer community is the celebration of festivals and holidays. The first holiday of importance after the arrival at Lee's Creek was Dominion Day, July 1. President Card says:

We erected a bowery a short distance up the creek and invited our neighbouring ranchers and police to meet with us for a little picnic in our hastily built bowery. We sang songs, made speeches, and gave recitations and all partook of refreshments. Then a couple of hours were spent in chatting and indulging in various games. About 4 p.m. the ponies were brought into requisition and their speed tried in a variety of races. Everything passed off quietly and gently and no stimulants were used. The strangers all seemed well pleased with the day's proceedings.

There was some suggestion of loneliness in the brief description given by Card of the first Christmas, when he said they "spent the time in family socials and feasting with each other and frequently *talking of loved ones at home.*"

The first theatrical performance in the community was the presentation of a play by the young people on January 1, 1890. The completion in the village of any structure, even a private home, was the occasion for rejoicing and celebration by the whole community.

4. *Contacts with Canadian Government Officials*

Cardston was incorporated as a village in 1902 with Charles O. Card as the first mayor. Since these people regarded themselves

as exiles⁷ from the United States, the country which they could not help but think of as "home," there was quite naturally a problem as to their attitude towards the Canadian government. That there was apprehension on the part of Canadian officials is very doubtful, since it was a period in which people were coming from many lands, and there was no more reason to suspect the loyalty of the Latter-day Saints than that of other groups. Moreover, since many of the Mormons who came to Canada were subject to arrest if apprehended in the United States, Canada was to them a place of refuge, and they naturally felt the necessity of proving their patriotism to the officials. An opportunity to offer this proof came in October of 1889, when the Governor-General of Canada made a visit to Macleod. President Card and the people of Cardston went to Macleod to pay their respects, and Card read the following address to the visitors:

To His Excellency the Lord Stanley of Preston, K.C., Her Majesty's Viceroy of the Dominion of Canada.

May it please your Excellency, We the Latter-day Saints resident in the North West Territory of Canada, do most cordially unite with our fellow settlers of Alberta, in welcoming to the district the representative of that Sovereign power which, as pictured to us by the last of the Old Republicans, "has dotted the surface of the Globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drumbeat following the sun and keeping company with the hours circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

To the Imperial Majesty of Queen Victoria, of whom not a few of us rejoice to be the native subjects,—to Her who, as we fondly hope, is soon to be the Queen of all of us; We desire on this early occasion to make public profession of our unswerving loyalty, and anticipate our steadfast allegiance to that dynasty under which the country of our adoption has prospered and grown great. Our Prophet Joseph hath discerned that of all the kingdoms of the world, the British Principalities, by reason of their high integrity and their judicial purity, will be the last to fall; and it is for this reason as well as from an affectionate admiration of her own womanly virtues that We invoke the blessing of Heaven upon the Sovereign of these vast realms.

Receive also the assurance of our cordial good-wishes for the personal welfare of your Excellency and of the Lady Stanley, and for the success of your unwearying efforts for the more effectual consolidation of the Dominion and the Empire.

Signed by the request of the Latter-day Saints in the Canadian Northwest Territory. Charles O. Card, Macleod, N.W.T., 14 October, 1889.

Further demonstrations and protestations of loyalty were given each Dominion Day. Opportunity was taken at these programmes

⁷ In one entry in Card's diary is found the statement: "All of the party were exiles from the United States"; and a later entry states, "Truly, I feel that we have a faithful band of exiles here who are bound to make a mark in this land that will weigh on the credit side for the Saints."

to acquaint people with the history and patriotic traditions of Canada and the British Empire. The Mormons in Canada at the present time are developing very positive attitudes of loyalty in their children, through building of monuments to commemorate Canadian events, and by the acceptance, without reservations, of Canada as their permanent home.

Other early contacts with officials of the Canadian government are worthy of note here as somewhat typical of the efforts of people on the pioneer fringe to obtain special considerations from those in power.

The requests made by the Mormons in October, 1888, were of two kinds. Those of one sort asked for special concessions with respect to the use of natural resources and certain customs immunities; while the other type asked for the privilege of bringing "plural" families to Canada.

The following is the formal petition for the privilege of bringing polygamous wives and families to Canada:

The Right Honorable,
Sir John A. Macdonald and
Ministers in Council.

Gentlemen:

We would respectfully ask the Government of the Dominion of Canada if the class of Latter-day Saints who are now being subjected to sore persecution in the United States of America by fines and imprisonment for fulfilling their sacred obligations to their wives they have long since married in good faith for time and eternity, can be allowed an abiding place, in peace, in Canada where they can provide for their families, educate their children, and not be compelled to cast them off and subject them to the charities of a cold world, thus breaking faith with their tender and devoted wives, innocent children, and with God our Eternal Father, from whose hands they have received them.

If from the dire sufferings of such people they can find an asylum in the Dominion of Canada they will bring with them their wealth, their experience, their young men and their young women who have never entered into plural marriage.

The comparatively few who need to seek rest and peace in Canada would not be a drop in the bucket as compared with the millions of people who are protected in their faith and practice of plural marriage under the Government of Great Britain.

We do not ask that a law be passed legalizing plural marriage, but should your honorable body grant the relief asked for, it will also gain the warm friendship and appreciation of all Latter-day Saints who occupy the valleys of the Rocky Mountains from Mexico to Canada.

All the practice of Plural marriage among the Latter-day Saints in the United States, so much talked about and so greatly exaggerated, has never yet induced one individual not of our faith to undertake the practice of it. Thus it has

never been a menace to the United States, and will not be the to Dominion of Canada.

It has provided homes and motherhood for hundreds of precious women who would otherwise have been in the world as millions of women are, with no chance for them to reach the measure of their creation.

There is not to exceed five per cent. of the Latter-day Saints who have undertaken the responsibility of a plurality of families. Those who have taken upon them such important cares, are among the best and most energetic men in the Church, whose lives have been spotless, and among whom are those who have reached the advanced age of three score years and ten, and those who have accumulated wealth to the amount of hundreds of thousands of dollars by patient industry and economy are immured in the penitentiaries with the vilest of criminals because they will not desert their families.

Even tender women in delicate condition, or with babes in arms are cast into those vile places in order to compel them to testify against their husbands.

Your time is too precious for us to enumerate the cruelties and indignities to which the Latter-day Saints are being subjected under special legislation in the United States of America.

We will be pleased to answer personally any questions you may feel disposed to ask or make any explanation you may desire.

With profound respect we are,

Your obedient servants,

Francis M. Lyman

John W. Taylor

Charles O. Card.

The requests were submitted by Francis M. Lyman and John W. Taylor of Salt Lake City, both apostles in the church, and by President C. O. Card. On November 16, 1888, the Cabinet met and decided that the Government could grant only the request which allowed Card to hold title to half a section in trust for the people for a town site.

It will be seen from this recital of the early history of the Mormon movement to Canada that the migration was prompted by political maladjustments of the Mormons in the United States over the problem of polygamy. It was a sponsored movement, in that the parent community gave direction as well as financial assistance to it.

The migration was selective in that it attracted the men who were subject to arrest under the anti-polygamous laws of the United States. Under the system of administration of polygamy by the Mormon church only reputable men of adequate means were encouraged to undertake the practice. It is highly probable that polygamy selected the better classes in the population. It selected, moreover, those who were definitely loyal to the tenets of the church, which thus insured the future religious dominance of

the colony by the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City. This dominance is one of the features of social life in the Mormon communities of Alberta today. This religious homogeneity made for effective social control in the community on the frontier, since according to the Mormon doctrine, the members are to be obedient to those placed in authority over them. At the same time this homogeneity made possible an effective coöperation and minimized the bases of conflict, which constitute disintegrating factors in the pioneer community. In a word, Cardston was a colony with a purpose which was extra-economic, or super-economic. It was dedicated to a cause.

5. Settlement of Stirling and Neighbouring Communities

Twelve years of colonizing efforts near Cardston, demonstrated the feasibility of settling Mormon people in Canada. Although it was at first considered a place of refuge for those who were oppressed in the United States, Alberta now came to be looked upon as a place of economic opportunity. Besides, Utah was thoroughly settled by Mormons who had taken up most of the desirable land in the Great Basin. Only extensive irrigation projects would make possible the enlargement of these older communities and the settlement of new ones. People were, therefore, ready for a new economic outlet. All through the period of Mormon history in the Great Basin, colonization of new areas had been a part of the church programme. With new converts arriving constantly from Europe and needing something to do, and somewhere to go, the settlement of new lands constituted an effective solution of the problem.

While the desire to escape persecution was the primary motive for the settlement of Cardston, the attraction of economic possibilities was the basis for the new movement which began in 1899.

Several developments in southern Alberta during the decades of the eighties and nineties prepared the way for this new migration. It will be necessary to review briefly the history of these developments. The first significant event was the discovery of coal along the banks of the Belly River near Lethbridge. Coal from these deposits had been used by the Mounted Police at Fort Walsh as early as 1874, and subsequently at Fort McLeod. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway westward to Medicine Hat brought these coal deposits into new prominence. Sir Alexander T. Galt, High Commissioner of Canada in Great Britain, conceived

the idea of mining the coal at Coalbanks (now Lethbridge) and of transporting it by boat to Medicine Hat, first to supply the requirements of the railway and then to ship the surplus east by rail. In 1882 a company was formed for this purpose, called the Northwest Coal and Navigation Company, with William Lethbridge as president and Elliot T. Galt as manager. Coal deposits were surveyed in the early part of 1882, and a year later were taken over by the Northwest Coal and Navigation Company. The mine had no shaft at first but coal was taken out at a "day hole" or "drift" at the bottom of the coulée. Thence it was carried on a tramway to the bank of the river, loaded on barges or steamers, and conveyed to Medicine Hat.

It is not generally known that Lethbridge once had a dock, but in 1885 the river presented a busy scene. The steamer *Baroness*, a stern-wheeler of 210 tons and engines of 50 horse power, was often moored there. She was launched in 1883 and registered at the port of Winnipeg. Other steamers which were members of the "fleet" were the S.S. *Alberta*, and the *Minnow*. These two were built at Medicine Hat and launched in 1884. These boats were not successful enterprises for they could not navigate the Belly River at low water, and the return journey with barges was almost too difficult for them.

It soon became evident that it was impracticable to supply the Canadian Pacific Railway with coal transported by water. Hence the Northwest Coal and Navigation Company obtained a Dominion charter in 1883 to build a railway from the Belly River coal mines to Medicine Hat. Another act of Parliament created the subsidiary, the Alberta Railway and Coal Company⁸ which took over the above lines in 1889. The actual construction, however, was carried out by the holding company in 1885. The railway was of the narrow gauge type locally known as the "turkey trail", and it joined the Canadian Pacific Railway at Dunmore where large storage sheds were erected.

The Alberta Railway and Coal Company built a line from Lethbridge to Great Falls, Montana, in order to extend the market for Alberta coal. Alternate sections of land (640 acres each) were granted by the Canadian Government within six miles of the railway and the company thus became the owner of over a million acres, which were scattered along its 180 miles of railway like the

⁸ *Statutes of Canada*, 47 Vict. c. 86.

black squares of a checkerboard.⁹ It was soon realized that these were not feasible units for ranching, at that time the chief industry of the country. Upon petition to the Dominion Government for larger blocks of land, the company was allotted alternate townships¹⁰ instead of alternate sections. The land grant was located in what was designated "the arid district". In earlier days it had been winter feeding ground for buffalo herds, and after their extermination it became one of the best cattle ranges of the Northwest.

The Mormons at Cardston, however, saw the greater potential value of this land if it could be irrigated. Their leader, C. O. Card, and John W. Taylor, an apostle of the Mormon Church, arranged in 1891 to rent over 500,000 acres of land for a period of four years, and at the end of that time to purchase it at \$1 per acre.¹¹ The Mormon irrigation scheme was furthered by Parliament in 1893 when an act was passed to incorporate a company for the purpose of constructing and operating irrigation ditches or canals in the area mentioned.

The new corporation, the Alberta Irrigation Company, encountered several serious problems. It proved very difficult to attract sufficient capital for the project, although influential eastern Canadians had become interested in it.¹² The location of the company's land grant in alternate townships instead of in one solid block made the construction of an irrigation canal impossible. Repeated appeals to Parliament for remedial legislation were of no avail until 1896 when Hon. Clifford Sifton, a man familiar with western conditions, became Minister of the Interior. In the meantime the contract for the purchase of land had been cancelled, and the charter of the Alberta Irrigation Company was about to expire since the company had not begun actual construction work within three years, the time limit set by Parliament. An amendment to the company's charter was obtained in 1896, a solid block of land was granted, and two years later the actual location of the irrigation canal was begun. The chief contractors for the work

⁹ The usual grants of land to western railway companies were 3,840 acres per mile for narrow gauge lines, and 6,400 acres per mile for standard gauge lines. Although the new line was of the narrow gauge type the government allowed the larger land grant in order to stimulate the Lethbridge coal industry.

¹⁰ A township in the Prairie Provinces is a square, six miles each way, and it comprises thirty-six sections or square miles.

¹¹ The rental charge was 2 cents per acre for 4 years and the subsequent purchase price was to be spread over 8 years with interest accruing at 6 per cent.

¹² Sir Alexander T. Galt and his son Elliot T. Galt permitted their names to be used in applying to Parliament for legal permission. Sir Alexander was the first president of the company and his son later held the same position.

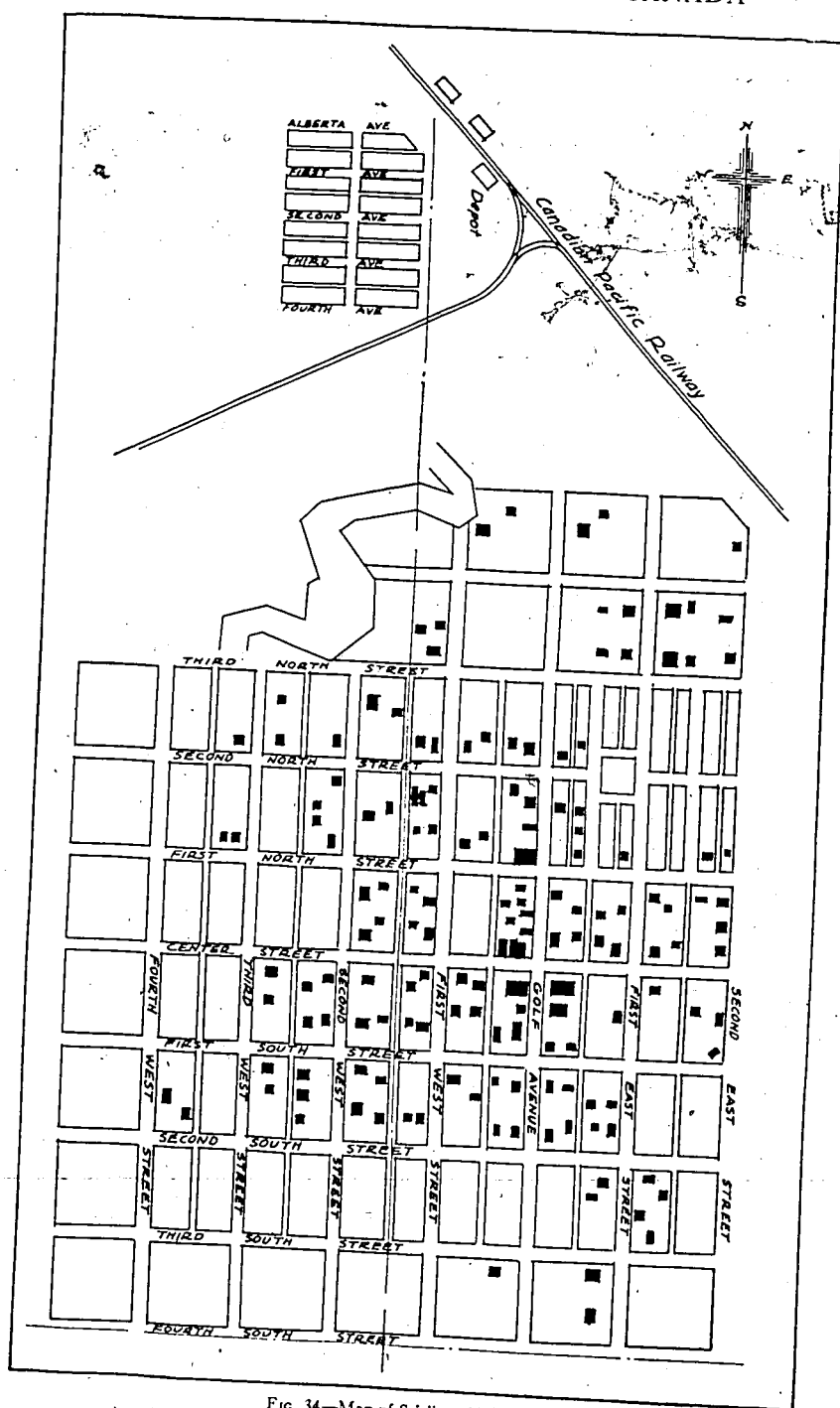


FIG. 34—Map of Stirling, Alberta.

were the President and the High Council of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The sub-contractors, labourers, and teamsters were for the most part Mormons who intended to settle in Canada. The men's wages were paid half in cash and half in land. Irrigable land, valued at \$3 an acre at that time, was located in the vicinity of the present towns of Magrath and Stirling. These centres both owe their beginning to the new development.

The Canadian Pacific Railway was sufficiently interested in the Mormon irrigation project to promise a bonus of \$100,000 to the company. The money was to be paid according to the number of settlers and the amount of traffic they secured for the railway. Difficulties entailed in estimating these items were removed by changing the bonus to a semi-annual payment of \$5,000, until the total amount of \$100,000 was finally paid to the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company.¹³

A number of farm villages and railway centres sprang up in connection with these larger projects. The growth of Stirling (Fig. 34), a town on the Lethbridge-Great Falls railway, is typical of these new centres. The first contingent of 8 families arrived in the spring of 1899. One of their members brought provisions from Lethbridge and opened a store in his tent. Some of the men began work on the irrigation canal while others dug a well, helped to build houses, or prepared small plots of land for gardens. Heavy winds followed by snow storms and frost delayed the work and confined the pioneer families to their camp. In spite of these difficulties 6 houses were completed in about two weeks' time and as many families occupied them immediately.¹⁴

The following excerpts taken from the ward history indicate the rapidity with which Stirling became an established community.¹⁵

Three new settlers arrived on May 30th. Three brothers and their families arrived on May 31st, and shortly after went to work on the canal. June 6th and 7th other settlers arrived. On June 8th Apostle John W. Taylor and Brothers J. P. Kimball and B. H. Roberts, made a visit to the settlement. Several new settlers also arrived. President Card from Cardston was also here. Meeting was held in the evening when President Card announced that Theodore Brandley had been sustained as Bishop at the recent conference.

On June 25th an organization of the Sunday school was effected, thirty-one

¹³ The name of the company was changed in 1899 by act of Parliament from the Alberta Irrigation Company to the Canadian Northwest Irrigation Company. As a result of a merger in 1904 with a group of other companies a new firm, the Alberta Railway and Irrigation Company, came into existence.

¹⁴ These were two-roomed frame houses built by the Mormon Church and sold to the settlers at about \$150 each.

¹⁵ This diary material is at present in the custody of the ward clerk at Stirling.

children present. On July 2nd meetings were held in the tent under the presidency of the Bishop. Congregations were small on account of so many brethren being away on the canal. Upon the two following Sundays no meetings were held owing to the above cause. On August 24th at four p.m. a special meeting was held, Sisters Card, Hammer, and Wolf being present from Cardston. An organization of the Relief Society and also one of the Y.L.M.I.A. were effected. Sister Hannah M. Russell and Sister Miriam S. Hardy were respectively sustained as presidents of these organizations. Councillors were to be selected in the future. Another special meeting was held at eight p.m., Brother Card and Brother Hammer were present. Both spoke encouragingly of the work already done and read a letter from President Cannon urging the people to stay with the canal work. On Saturday, August 26th, the first dance conducted in accordance with Church rule was held in the house of Sister Russell.

The formal church organization was set up just thirty days after the settlement was founded. Then followed in quick succession all of the other church organizations, including the Sunday school, Y.L.M.I.A.,¹⁶ the Relief Society, and so on. The community was under the religious sponsorship of Cardston which, throughout the entire period of Mormon settlement in Alberta, has been the ecclesiastical capital of the area. Arrangements were made for the construction of a school and meeting house less than three months after the settlement was begun. Both buildings were financed by "free-will offerings".

Some of the exigencies of these first few weeks of pioneering on the Canadian frontier are told by Andrew Jensen, assistant church historian:

A feeling of dismay over the outlook seemed to possess some of these pioneers as they dismounted from the railway at Stirling on May 4th, 1899, as they remembered the orchards, gardens, trees and beautiful homes and many of life's enjoyments which they had left behind them in Utah. But President Charles O. Card, who met the company, turned towards the spot selected for a townsite and addressing the newcomers, said: "There on that hill you may select your city lots and begin to build your future homes."

The little band of Saints filled with courage and hope pitched their tents on the plains of Alberta with one aim in life: to do the will of their Heavenly Father. On Saturday, June 17th, 1899, it began to rain. The men had all gone out to work on the canal, leaving Elder Brandley to care for the women and children who remained in town. Steadily the downpour continued and according to the Government's rain gauge, six inches of rain fell in the space of fourteen hours. For two weeks this storm raged without ceasing. Tents could no longer give shelter from the rain and the people had to hold umbrellas over their heads, while they ate their scanty meal prepared under these circumstances. They were also compelled to sleep in wet bedding, and as a last resource to cover their beds with dishpans to catch the water as it poured through the soft canvas.

¹⁶ Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association.

A letter to Bishop Egan of South Bountiful, Utah, dated June 25th, 1899, gives a picture of Stirling at that time:

There are six frame houses and about fifteen tents in the town; houses sell at \$150. Two-roomed tents are furnished by the Government. Houses and tents are occupied by newcomers. You can buy one of these houses and then I am told another one is built to replace the one that is sold. The lots are from \$20 to \$30 each, and contain one and one-fourth acres. Eight lots make one square block. Streets, I think, are one hundred feet wide and are laid off to the point of the compass.

There are also business lots laid off, thirty feet front which sell at \$10 each. There is one store at Stirling.

The next town on the way to Cardston is Magrath, about twenty miles southwest of Stirling. Here are now built five or six houses, the same style and kind as in Stirling.

There were 54 families in Stirling by the end of the first summer and all were sheltered before winter came on.

The population of Stirling increased rapidly. In 1901, just two years after its founding, it had a population of 349 people. The peak was reached in 1911 with 514 people. During the next five years there was a decline of about 200 people, and since 1921 a gradual increase to the present total of 326.¹⁷ This would seem to indicate that the excitement of the early years of its settlement led to temporary over-population, and that after the climax was reached there was a gradual settling down to a number which represented a more adequate adjustment to the economic resources of the area. These fluctuations in the total population for Stirling may be explained by the fact that it was the dispersion point for the migration to the other communities. Early leaders naturally looked upon it as a town with a great future, especially since it was the only Mormon town on a railway at that time.

The records of the ward clerk show that 95 members have left the ward since 1903. The reasons for leaving are known in the case of ninety of these migrants as follows:

Seeking employment.....	35 persons
Marriage.....	17 "
Financial reverses.....	24 "
Health or education.....	11 "
Family reasons.....	3 "
<hr/>	
Total.....	90 persons

¹⁷ *Census of Canada, 1901, 1911, 1921, and 1931. Census of Alberta, 1906, 1916, and 1926.*

It is interesting to note that a large number of these migrants moved to other Canadian Mormon communities close at hand, mostly within the area of Mormon dominance, such as Raymond, Magrath, and Cardston. Several moved into communities of the Lethbridge Stake of the church. More than half of them went to Western United States, chiefly back to Utah and Idaho.

Why people move towards the frontier, how they get to their destination, personal experiences in the form of crises, and how they meet them, all constitute the sociological problems of pioneer life. A few personal histories of Stirling settlers are presented here in order to throw further light on these social processes.

Mr. X. migrated to Stirling in April 1902. He was a carpenter in American Fork, Utah, but was not "doing well" there, and was therefore a good prospect to be caught up in a new migration movement. Some relatives of Mrs. X. had already migrated to Canada and sent word back concerning the country. The X. family which at that time included six children decided to move to Canada. They brought their household goods and two cows with them to Stirling. A tent which sometimes leaked served as shelter during the first six months. Sometimes these people were so cold and wet that their hair would freeze to the pillows at night. Mr. X. secured work on the canal immediately. Later he began farming and the family succeeded in establishing itself. Four more children were born to the family. They all live in Stirling and four of them are married. The eldest son is a carpenter, one is a mechanic, two sons are farmers, two daughters married farmers, while the two younger boys work at odd jobs.

Mr. Y. came to Stirling from Mt. Pleasant, Utah, about 1906. With him were fifty other people from the same town. It took thirteen freight cars for their belongings. A blizzard was raging when they arrived in Canada and they were very discouraged with the prospects. "We had to learn to like it," said one of the children of Mr. Y., in telling the family story. "In Utah we had eighty acres of land but could not make a fair living on it. Thought we would try to find something better. We heard Canada was a good country and decided to try it. Father came up and investigated the country and decided to move. For the first five years we were sorry we came, but now we are glad because we have done better than we could have done in Utah. Besides there is a chance for the boys to get a foothold here. The wind has been the hardest experience to bear in Canada."

The Z. family, which included eleven children, came from Preston, Idaho, and drove to Canada with teams. The family left Preston on August 10 but did not reach Lee's Creek until October 3. Here a blizzard came on and all but three of the horses died from exposure. The family lived in tents for three weeks. Seven children were stricken with typhoid fever. People from Cardston came out and moved them into town, where a two-roomed cabin was secured.

They had an eighty-acre farm in Preston, but economic conditions of the family have been very satisfactory in Canada. All the children have homes here. Mr. Z. was "called on a mission" to help settle Canada. He remained

in Cardston six months and then moved on to Stirling where he secured employment and settled on a farm. When Claresholm was settled—located north of Macleod—Mr. Z. and family wanted to move, but they were told by President Wood that they had been “called” to settle Stirling. “Maybe it is just as well,” said my informant, “others went and have not done so well up there.”

The hardships of which this informant complained most were the lack of educational facilities and the difficult winters.

We have, then, in this second phase of the Mormon migration to Canada a definite and dominant economic motivation. The original impulse of the Cardston migration twelve years earlier was, as already noted, essentially political, with the economic forces playing a subordinate role. However, the settlement in southern Alberta in general was not incongruous with the Mormon colonization programme, and indeed soon came to be an important part of it.

6. Orton—*Mormons on the Fringe*

The community of Orton just seven miles east of Macleod represents the penetration of the Mormons into a gentile area. It also represents the experience of Mormon settlers in an area particularly unfavourable to agriculture. In the presence of economic adversity, however, the Orton people have “stuck”, largely because of religious influences. The story of Orton may further illustrate the forces at work on the pioneer fringe.

The first settlers in this particular area were the following: William Orr, his wife and one child; George Sillito, single (cousin of Orr); Joseph Thomas Derriott, single (cousin of Orr); James S. McMurray, his wife and children (Mrs. McMurray was a sister of Wm. Orr); and the family of William Passey who stayed only a few weeks. This little kinship group came from the same Mormon settlement in Liberty, Idaho, and arrived at the present location of Orton in 1901.

They brought with them the following property: William Orr, 3 horses, 2 cows, a wagon, some old furniture, and a plough. He had also \$80 cash which he paid out to get breaking done on his farm. George Sillito had a team, a wagon, a plough, and a harrow. Derriott had a team, wagon, and plough; and McMurray, somewhat better equipped than the others, boasted 4 or 5 head of horses, and cows, and implements of various kinds.

7. Orton—*The Early Pioneer Period*

Ranchers in the locality tried to discourage them from settling in that section of the country. No field crops were obtained in

the first year and some of the gardens were damaged seriously by a hail storm. In spite of misfortune the little colony persisted and during the following years the people were relatively prosperous as compared with the present and recent situation. Troubles overtook the little group again in 1919, when their crops were a complete failure. This was also true of the years 1920, 1921, and 1922. A local historian recorded these years as follows:

1919. The crops were a complete failure, no seed being raised. Several cut some little wheat and weeds for feed.

1920. Prospects in the early spring were excellent, with lots of moisture, but heavy winds in May and June blew out grain and sapped the moisture, resulting in almost a complete failure. Few people cut enough for feed and seed. Cutworms were a great menace to the crops on account of the dry weather making ideal working conditions for them.

1921. Spring and summer very dry. Some crops hardly sprouted. Cutworms and grasshoppers destroyed almost all of the crops that would have made feed or developed for seed purposes.

1922. The conditions in the beginning of the spring season were exceptionally favourable for crops. Drought prevailed for six to eight weeks during May and June, causing the early sown crops to suffer beyond redemption as far as a fair crop was concerned. Several good rains during June saved the early sown crops from a total loss and did a wonderful amount of good to the late sown crops and feed. Grasshoppers did a great amount of damage until after the first summer rain which came on June 28.

1923. The crops during the year were of a pretty fair yield; about 25 bushels per acre was the average yield of wheat and 40 bushels per acre was the oat yield. Latter part of summer was dry which resulted in a smaller yield than if the reverse weather conditions had prevailed. The fall weather was the best it had been in the history of the district.¹⁸

The first settlers at Orton constituted a kinship group. They selected what they thought was the best block of land and cast lots for the individual holdings. According to one of the early settlers this method finally satisfied everyone.

The various settlers established their residence on the farms, instead of in a central village as is the Mormon custom. But they later decided that they would set aside an area for a village site and move their homes. The land was divided into 16 blocks, each containing 8 acres, inclusive of one street. The blocks were divided into 4 lots each containing approximately one and three-fourths acres. Some of those who moved their homes into the village, returned to their farms later. At the present time, there are eight homes on the village site and 5 individual farms. Opinion

¹⁸ From "Ward Historical Record" of Orton.

is divided as to the relative merits of living in the village and on the land.

The village of Orton illustrates the force of mystical experiences on community life. Attention has previously been called to the fact that such experiences greatly influenced Mormon settlement. Orton folklore is replete with favourable dreams and other prophetic expressions which foreshadow the ultimate success of the colony. One of the initial problems of the settlement was that of a suitable water supply. During the first six years water had to be hauled from Oldman River. They had no well-rig, nor could they afford to purchase one. William Orr had a dream one night in which he saw a group of men up on a slight hill; they seemed to be digging for water or preparing to pump from the river. Suddenly two persons appeared and one of them said: "All of you come down off that hill to the centre of town." They all came down to the point where it was indicated the well should be dug. Then the man pointed east and said, "Those people there will help you." Orr turned to look and saw a large, red, two-storey building. "You have to stay right with them to get what you want," said the person, and disappeared.

In less than a year, John W. Taylor, one of the L.D.S. apostles paid the colony a visit and held a meeting in Orr's home. According to Orr, "he referred to certain Scriptural passages where it speaks of late rains and early rains, and then he advised us to get after the government, and stay with them, and they would help us."

From this event Orr concluded that the dream was something of a forecast, and that the people to "the east" in the two-storey building were the government. Soon after this a well-rig belonging to the government came through the country and settlers secured the use of it. A suitable spot was chosen and dedicated by President

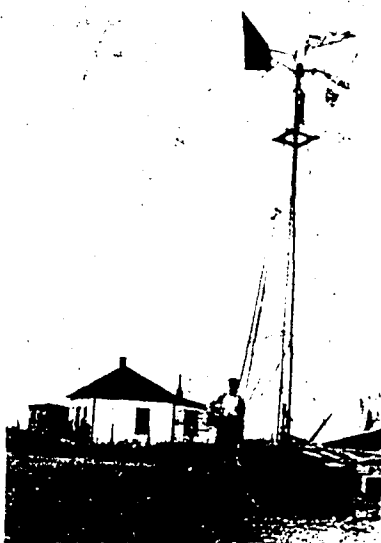


FIG. 35—Village well at Orton, Alberta.

Wood before the work began. Good water supply was secured at a depth of 160 feet and the well has served the entire community (Fig. 35).

The settlers also tell of a vision of President Duce (Cardston) in which he saw a lake of water underlying the Orton area. Josiah Orr tells that, after getting located, they tested for water and, when they found none, they went to Cardston to see President Wood. "Where are you?" Wood asked. When Orr told him, he said, "You stay right there. Not a better place in Canada. Good thing you couldn't find the water; outsiders would have come in and scattered you, and you wouldn't have had any ward. There's water under the town, don't fear; and plenty of it."

President Wood on another occasion encouraged the people of Orton to remain on their present farms by promising them that the town would grow and that "some day water would run down the streets and be abundant." John W. Taylor also told in eloquent terms of the promising future which awaited the community.

These factors are cited in this connection because they constitute the supreme elements in social control in this community. The question of the objective validity of these events is not important to this analysis. The plain fact is that these people believe these events happened, that Divinity is presiding over their destinies, and that no matter what happens from year to year with respect to mundane events, there is no doubt about the ultimate success of the community.

8. Orton—*Personal Factors in the Migration Process*

The village of Orton illustrates the influence of the personal factor in pioneer settlement. It has already been stated that the first families of Orton were related by marriage. The birthplaces of the parents indicate similar cultural backgrounds. Data obtained from 24 people showed that 10 came from neighbouring communities in Idaho, 6 from Utah, 5 from England, 1 from Germany, and 1 from Italy. Three of the British-born people had lived in Idaho before they migrated to Orton. Eleven of the 24 people studied had lived in or near the town of Liberty in Idaho. In other words, most of the Orton pioneers are migrants from one older community.

Personal influences, though perhaps the immediate motives for migration, were not the only ones at work. Replies to the question, "What led you to move to Canada?" indicate that in most

cases the desire for land, or the hope of better economic conditions were strong factors. Some of the replies are quoted below:

Had no land. Just returned from mission and met a girl who became my wife. She was down on a visit and encouraged me to go to Canada.

We got land-hungry—wanted land. Father was a miller. H. S. Allen got me to come to Cardston to run mill.

I had brothers here who reported it was good country and I came to see.

I was working for Bennion Mills in Salt Lake. Eph. Harker, my brother-in-law, lived in Cardston and started a mill there. Got me to come up and run it for six years.

We didn't have much of a place where we were. One of our neighbours came up and looked. I inquired a lot. Saw my stake president and bishop, and they said to come on.

Our son George was here and persuaded us to come. My health is better here. We came merely to prove up on land, but did not return to States.

Our family came. Father took up land for the boys.

(Husband). I came with my family.

(Wife). I came to teach and see what it was like. Came through a teacher's agency at Vancouver. When I first saw Orton I did not think I would stay.

We boys came. Pa thought he'd come. They used to send such good reports about this country. They used to have good rains.

(Husband). I came with my parents.

(Wife). Marriage.

My brothers came and kept writing. They wanted land for boys, etc. We thought maybe if we came up here we would do better, and we could go to the temple.

9. Orton—Age and Sex Groups under Frontier Conditions

The frontier attracts the young people. The average age of the male migrants at the time of coming to Orton was between 21 and 22 years. The age of the female migrants averaged about 24 years. This average was higher than that for the males because of the fact that two women whose husbands have died, were 60 and 64 at the time of their migration to Canada. Eliminating these women, the average becomes 19 years, which is perhaps the more comparable figure to use.

The age distribution of the population is not unusual; in fact it follows very closely that for the much older Mormon village of Ephraim in Utah.

The marked predominance of males in the community is characteristic of the frontier. The female group from 15 to 24 years is low, especially in comparison with the male group. While the total number of people involved is so small as to make the sample somewhat unreliable, the showing is not unexpected, since it is well known from observation and migration studies¹⁹ that migration from certain of these rural sex-age groups is very heavy.

From the data secured in this survey it is not possible to state where all these young females go. The writer was told of two

TABLE XXXIII—PRESENT AGE AND AGE AT MIGRATION TO CANADA OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES OF ORTON

PRESENT AGE (1930)		AGE AT MIGRATION	
Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
30	26	5	23
33	36	4	..
41	30	13	1
43	33	18	2
43	36	29	..
45	40	19	13
50	41	27	19
55	55	26	28
57	57	28	28
59	55	29	26
67	64	42	39
..	84 (widow)	..	60
..	86 (widow)	..	64

sisters who went to Cardston, and it is very likely that many others go to Cardston, Lethbridge, Raymond, and other centres where they might secure employment.

10. Orton—The Problem of Instability

Information about several migrants from Orton indicated the following distribution: 7 families went to other Mormon settlements in Alberta, 3 families went to Idaho, 1 family to California, and 1 adult went to each of the following places: Manitoba, Utah, and Nevada.

¹⁹ Particularly those of C. C. Zimmerman which are summarized in Sorokin and Zimmerman's *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York: 1929).

The information indicates that even under the village form of settlement with powerful religious sanctions, mobility tends to be high when agricultural handicaps are excessive.

Among the Orton settlers are those who are proud of their achievements and contented with their lot. Many are satisfied with their programme of diversification and believe that they are better off than they would have been had they remained in the old community in Idaho; there are others who wish they had not moved to Orton. While the people in this community look to the future hopefully, their expectations are tinged by the memories of

TABLE XXXIV—AGE AND SEX PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MORMON COMMUNITY OF ORTON, ALBERTA

AGE GROUPS	PERCENTAGE	MALE		FEMALE	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total.....	100	61	100	38	100
Under 5 years.....	12	6	10	6	16
5 - 14.....	27	18	30	9	24
15 - 24.....	22	15	25	6	16
25 - 34.....	16	10	16	6	16
35 - 44.....	10	6	10	4	10
45 - 54.....	3	2	3	1	3
55 - 64.....	7	3	5	4	10
65 and over.....	3	1	1	2	5

difficulties that have been experienced. These settlers have struggled through periods of drought, soil-drifting, dust storms, high winds, crop failure, cold winters, financial reverses, and failures. The intense struggle with the forces of physical nature has left its mark upon those who have remained under these chronic fringe conditions.

11. Orton—Stabilizing Influences

Each man and woman was asked to name the factors that had helped most in meeting the crises in life on the frontier. Some answers given by the men are as follows:

The church has been the most important factor. President Wood said we would see the time when water would run down the streets of Orton and flowers and trees would grow everywhere.

If it had not been for the church I would not have stayed, but I have no desire to go back to Idaho. If we had taken the advice of church leaders and kept out of debt, we would be all right. We are now on the up-grade.

The stake president told our people to stay here. We had a mass meeting once in front of my house. People said, "No use. Let's move." Word was sent to President Wood. He sent President Duce and the High Council over and told us to stay. Some moved away, but some came back. The others have done no better by moving. Personally, I always felt we would come out all right if we stayed. As long as I felt that this was the place where I could do the most good I would stay. I feel perfectly satisfied with prospects at present. We will have dry years, but they will have them everywhere.

If it had not been for the church not a person would have stayed. We believed our experience would help us make good. President Wood promised us we would be here when the Saviour came. People had their homes here.

If it had not been for the church and what people believed about the gospel, none of them would have stayed.

Government helped in bulletins and advice. Strip-farming helped to overcome soil-drifting.

Could not have lived here if it had not been for the church.

When Apostle Taylor was here he called us on a mission. We had to stay here and build up, thought if we moved we would have hard times there. One man left here for a country where they never had had a failure. When he got there they had failures two years in succession. President Wood made us some nice promises.

The wives made the following comments:

The church. We are spiritually better off during the dry years. The meetings are well attended. People feel closer together.

Our Heavenly Father! I do not see how people of our church ever lived through it.

People were told if they stayed here they would come out all right. People who went away came back because they were unable to find anything better.

The community of Orton represents Mormon pioneering in Canada under its most unfavourable aspect. It reveals above everything else the tenacity of the group under rigorous physical adversity. On purely economic and social bases, the wisdom of continuing the settlement under such adverse conditions might be seriously questioned. It might well be, however, that ultimately they may perfect their agricultural organization and otherwise adapt themselves adequately to the environment. In the cumulative contribution of generation after generation, a time may come

when moderate success may be achieved by the members of the community.

Orton people are undoubtedly among the poorest Latter-day Saints in Canada. The serious question confronting them is that of perpetuation of low living standards, and the meagreness of social contacts, which in turn tends to inter-marriage among close relatives.

The life history of this community portrays again the dominance of the religious factor in Mormon community life. The factor of homogeneity makes for polarization of all authority in the ecclesiastical officer.

The likelihood of penetration of the "outside" world into it is very slight, because of the unattractiveness of the country. Nevertheless, the process might be accelerated by financial changes, especially in the event of foreclosure and the forcible transfer of property to non-Mormons. Whether this will be significant remains to be seen.

Further migration of people from the village is, on the other hand, almost inevitable. The optimum population has been reached, unless some new release takes place in the form of more intensive agriculture such as that under an irrigation system, the readjustment of present farming practices, or a cycle of favourable crop years. Without such eventualities, no alternative remains for the young people but to move to localities which are economically more favourable.

This description of the settlement process in the above three representative sections of the Mormon country brings clearly to light the roles of a common religious faith and a centralized religious organization as stabilizing factors in the midst of the uncertainties of pioneering.

12. *Economic and Social Framework of the Mormon Country*

The economic life of the Mormon country is dominated by Canada but culturally it is subsidiary to Utah. The lines of economic dominance run chiefly north and south from Mormon settlements. While Cardston, Raymond, Magrath, and Stirling provide many of the economic services, more specialized facilities are offered by Lethbridge. It is a city with a population of about 13,500 and its trade area, extending over a radius of more than 100 miles, includes all of the Mormon country. Still further to the north is Calgary, the largest city in the province of Alberta,

which extends its economic influence to the Mormon settlements. A specific instance is that of the Calgary Light and Power Company, whose power lines extend over the southern part of the province, including the Mormon communities.

The lines of dominance for banking services extend eastward to distant financial centres. Banking policies which affect the Mormon settlements are decided upon in Toronto or Montreal. Some of the Mormons argue that the branch-banking system interferes with local development. A bank manager might work up to a position of importance in the area and come to know local conditions, but his prerogatives are greatly limited. It often happens, too, that the local manager is a stranger to the community, has no local interest, and is merely a cog in a gigantic machine. In other words, the branch bank is not readily able to adjust its policy to meet local needs. The same people who voiced these disadvantages were ready to admit, however, that the Canadian banking system had the virtue of stability, since it is not greatly affected by local calamities such as crop failures due to hail, drought, or other causes.

In this connection it is interesting to note that there is a Mormon institution known as the Cardston Loan Company which was established as early as 1895. It does some local financing and has been an important agency in the growth of the Mormon communities.

Some credit facilities are also provided in this region by means of Rural Credit Societies under provisions of the *Alberta Coöperative Credit Act* of 1917. Five such societies have been organized in as many different localities.

The bonds of kinship, friendship, and religious ties between the Mormons in Alberta and their home communities are very strong. Yet one hears them speak in militant, nationalistic terms when they consider markets for their commodities in Eastern Canada, and they do not hesitate to stand for protection of those markets as against their economic competitors in Utah. "Why," ejaculated one man in Cardston, not without some indignation, "people from Gunnison, Utah, are shipping carloads of cauliflower into Montreal. That's our market and we are going to claim it."

The lines of religious contact run south and terminate in Salt Lake City. This fact has also economic significance since church contributions are made to Salt Lake City by Canadian members of the Church and since a good deal of money is sent from the

Mother Church for Canadian temple maintenance, as well as for the maintenance of all the ward and stake organizations.

Moreover, once or twice a year, many Canadians go to Salt Lake City for the semi-annual conference of the Church, and to other towns in Utah and Idaho to visit relatives and friends.

For the Canadian area the focal point of religious interest is in Cardston. This is due not only to the location of the temple there, but to the fact that Cardston was the first Mormon settlement and has maintained a sort of supervisory function over the entire territory.



FIG. 36—Cardston, Alberta. Note the Mormon Temple to the left.

The religious dominance of Utah, the parent community, over the Canadian settlement is still marked. The very nature of the church organization makes for centralization rather than for local autonomy. While one hears facetious remarks about the singing of Mormon hymns, and about the many prayers uttered in general conference for the "saints in the valleys of the mountains," there is a deep, under-lying reverence for the central authorities of the church.

The home-sickness of the earlier period led many to look forward to a return to Utah. In fact there are still some Mormons in Canada who spend their winters in Utah. Some of them send their children to Utah schools, although there is a strong sentiment

among the leaders in favour of patronizing Canadian schools and universities.

Mormon provincialism is born of the theological concept that the "gathering" of Israel would be to the "tops of the mountains." This gathering is part of their eschatology. It has been difficult, therefore, for orthodox Mormons to content themselves in places

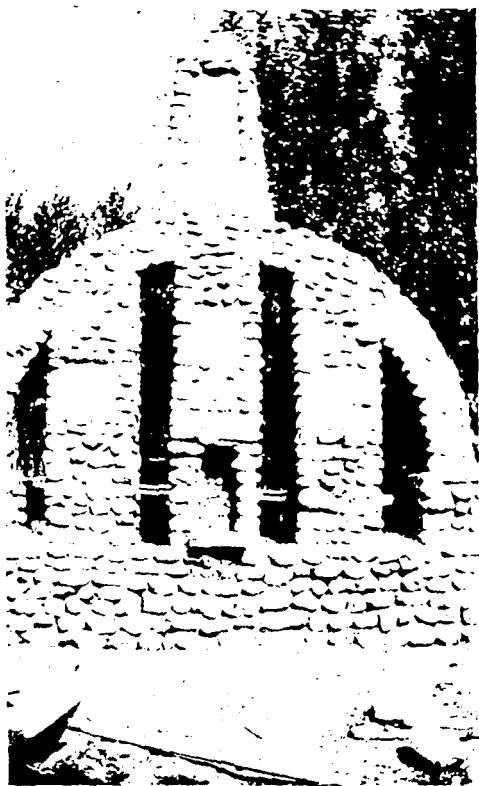


FIG. 37—Monument to the Mormon pioneers in Canada, erected in 1930 by the three L.D.S. stakes.

distant from the "valleys". However, the truth of the matter is that the Book of Mormon considers that Zion includes both American continents rather than a limited locality in North America. According to the original concept then, the Canadians are technically as much a part of Zion as are the dwellers in Utah.

Many are beginning to get this enlarged concept and are using it to influence those who for religious reasons might desire to return

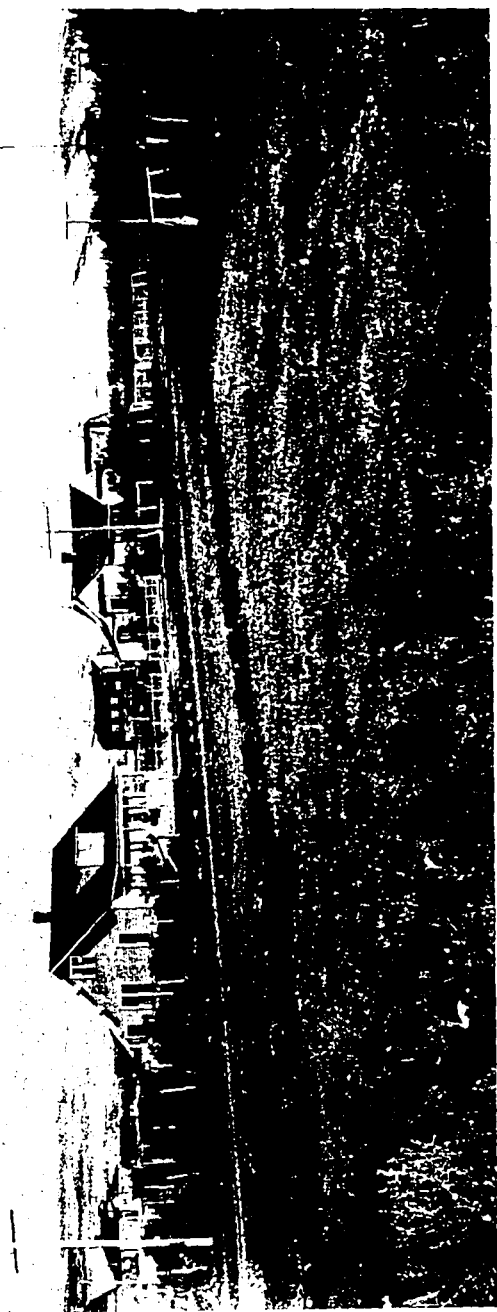


FIG. 38—Farm village of Hillspring in the United Irrigation District, Alberta. The L.D.S. church is in the centre background.

to Utah. President Wood is almost militant in his efforts to overcome this Utah migration. He urges young people to settle down in Canada and helps them to get established.

One of the very interesting trends in recent years is the building of monuments, for example that dedicated in 1930 to the Canadian Mormon pioneers, on the temple block of Cardston. The temple itself gives the suggestion of permanence. The work among the Mormon Boy Scouts also tends to glorify the achievements of their



FIG. 39.—Home in the Mormon country, Alberta.

fathers and grandfathers in Canada, and to create a stronger Canadian sentiment in the group.

Nevertheless, one finds many people restive. Those who have ambitions for their children other than farming look towards the "States" for ultimate establishment. They do not seem to be interested in the urban cities of Eastern Canada where they might engage in professions but cast their glances rather to the south, and particularly towards Utah.

Mormons have been village dwellers since the year 1833, when they attempted to establish in Missouri a Utopia which they called the City of Zion. Most of the Mormon farmers in Utah and Idaho

live on residence lots in a village or small town from which they travel to their fields to carry on their agricultural operations.²⁰

In Canada two types of villages developed: the commercial centre on the railway with its 100 to 300 inhabitants and the farm village with its 10 to 20 families. It is estimated²¹ that about 60 per cent. of the Mormon people in the older districts of Cardston, Raymond, Stirling, and Magrath continue to live in villages. Only about 10 per cent. of the Mormons in Lethbridge district live in farm villages. There seems to be little difference between irrigated and non-irrigated areas with regard to the persistence of this village system. The change from village to farm residence has been gradual. Few buildings have been moved from the village to the land, but there has been a tendency for young married people to build homes on the farms, while the parents retired to the town or village homes. Good roads and common use of the automobile are making it possible for people to live on the farm and still enjoy the religious and social facilities of the church.

The general opinion now is that village life is preferable from the social point of view, but it presents economic difficulties in that much time is spent in travelling to and from the fields. It is probable that in times of stress, as at present, the economic factor will dominate all other considerations.

²⁰ For a more complete discussion of the origin and persistence of this village pattern in the Mormon group, see Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Study in Social Origins* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Studies No. 2, 1929).

²¹ Information about changes in the Mormon village system has been supplied by Mr. A. E. Palmer assistant superintendent of the Dominion Experimental Farms at Lethbridge.

CHAPTER XII

TRENDS IN THE MEANS AND MODES OF LIVING

REFERENCES have been made in an earlier chapter to the physiographic features of the Mormon country, and more specifically to the agricultural possibilities of the area. Some of the limitations imposed by topography, soil, and climate were discussed and brief mention was made of the prevailing types of agriculture. A further discussion of farming conditions is necessary, however, in order to indicate how Mormon settlers obtain their means of living. This applies particularly to irrigation schemes and to the sugar-beet industry, which are among the chief contributions made by Mormons to prairie agriculture. Some indication will also be given of the "chronic pioneer conditions" in a dry-farming area where a small Mormon settlement persists in spite of great climatic hazards.

1. Early Agricultural Practices

Mormons in southern Alberta have always followed the system of individual land ownership. In the preceding chapters mention has been made of how the first pioneers homesteaded on free land granted by the Dominion Government. Another feature of land tenure in this region is the prevalence of large holdings, owned by private individuals, or by corporations, such as the United Irrigation Company which bought the Cochrane ranch, the Alberta Irrigation and Railway Company, and the Knight Sugar Company which built the first western beet-sugar factory at Raymond (Fig. 40).¹

Large private holdings and absentee ownership developed naturally because both ranching and irrigation farming are methods of exploitation requiring large investments. In the early days all ranchers took advantage of the open range. During spring and early summer they herded their cattle up into the foothills southwest of Cardston, and in fall and winter they "drifted" the herds north and eastwards to lower altitudes. The open range soon disappeared, however, for there was keen competition for this

¹ The first-mentioned company was sponsored by the Mormon Church of Utah. For further details see Chapter X, section 4.

cheap, natural pasture. Those who continued cattle or sheep raising adjusted themselves to new conditions by buying, or more frequently leasing, grazing lands, in some cases as much as a township at a time, from the government. At present many ranchers find it to their advantage to farm a section of land or more down in the valleys in order to provide winter feed for their stock. Those who are situated not too far from irrigated areas nearly all own from 80 to 360 acres on which they raise alfalfa or other hay, particularly for their cows and sheep. They also make a



FIG. 40—Beet-sugar factory at Raymond, Alberta.

practice of buying straw piles from nearby farms in order to carry the more robust cattle through the periods when deep snow covers the winter feeding grounds.

Much of the land in irrigated sections is still owned in rather large holdings. It should be noted, however, that only a part of the land is irrigable² on many of the farms, and dry-farming therefore goes hand in hand with irrigation. Moreover, while irrigation is practised for sugar-beets and alfalfa it is not used for small grain crops, as for example wheat. The reason is that cereal crops usually receive sufficient moisture from natural precipitation, especially if they are sown after a crop of beets.

With these general statements in mind we may now turn to some of the more specific data on farm tenure and size of holdings.

² Irrigable land is locally said to be "below the ditch" or "under the ditch".

2. Recent Trends in Farm Tenure and Land Utilization

The Mormon country has for purposes of agricultural analysis here been divided into a north and a south area because of differences in farming practices. The south area includes Cochrane Municipality and Local Improvement Districts, Nos. 8 and 9. It remains a ranching and a dry-farming country, with the one exception of the Glenwood-Hillspring district northwest of Cardston, where approximately 2 townships have been irrigated. The north area, with its better soil, lower altitude, and more even topography is in part suited for irrigation, and mixed farming is therefore possible. It includes Sugar City Municipality and Local Improvement District No. 38, otherwise known as Magrath-Raymond district. The quantitative data presented in the following pages indicate in a more specific way some of the regional differences which have been hinted at here.

Data on size of farm and land tenure for 1926 are presented in Appendix Table V. There is a marked difference between the two areas as regards the size of farms in 1926. The modal size in the north area falls in the 1-to-50-acre group, and it represents 39.8 per cent. of the total, but in the south area the 161-to-320-acre farm is most common and it represents 27 per cent. of the total. Farms of more than a quarter section in size (160 acres) comprised only 45.7 per cent. of the total in the north but 66.7 per cent. of all farms in the south. These figures reflect in a striking way the difference in farming practices for the two areas. A glance at the trend in average size of farms, as shown in Table XXXV, indicates the difference in another way. During the period of 1916-1926 farms in the north area averaged 300-400 acres, while in the south the average was 500-600 acres.

The data on farm tenure show that approximately 72 per cent. of all farms in both areas are occupied by owners. In the north area tenancy proportions are almost three times as large as owner-tenant proportions, while in the south area these two types are of similar importance. During the census period 1921-1926 the proportion of farms occupied by owners declined by 11 per cent. in the north area, while the decrease was only 4 per cent. in the south area. This change involved increases of 8 and 3 per cent. in the owner-tenant and tenant groups, respectively, for the north area. A slower change was indicated for the south area where each of these groups gained only 2 per cent. during the above 5-year interval. The proportion of farms occupied by owners

seems relatively high in the northern districts, in view of the fact that the irrigated land here was all company-owned originally. Whether the increase in tenancy during the period 1921-1926 is more than a temporary change remains to be seen. Five years is far too short an interval on which to base definite inferences concerning trends in land tenure.³

Recent trends in land utilization in the Mormon country are indicated in Table XXXV. Farms averaging 300-600 acres in size,

TABLE XXXV—TRENDS IN SIZE OF FARMS AND IN LAND UTILIZATION IN NORTH AND SOUTH AREAS OF MORMON SETTLEMENT, ALBERTA*

YEAR	TOTAL FARMS (no.)	AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM (acres)	IMPROVED ACREAGE PER FARM	AVERAGE FIELD CROP ACREAGE	WHEAT		OTHER CROPS	
					Average Acreage	Per cent.	Average Acreage	Per cent.
North Area—Raymond-Magrath District:†								
1906	622	...	...	66	...	...	...	...
1916	436	317	223	124	71	57	53	43
1921	702	395	263	170	132	78	38	22
1926	900	343	222	126	102	81	24	19
South Area—Cardston-Kimball District:**								
1906	657	...	...	34	...	...	...	...
1916	684	593	145	95	50	52	45	48
1921	705	545	160	113	74	65	39	35
1926	817	502	185	115	87	76	28	24

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1906*, Table 27; *1916*, Part II, Table 25; *1926*, Tables 97 and 98. *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. V, Tables 81 and 82.

† Includes Sugar City Municipality No. 37, and Local Improvement District No. 38.

** Includes Cochrane Municipality No. 10, and Local Improvement Districts Nos. 8 and 9.

with the proportions of improved land ranging from 24.4 (1916) per cent. for the south area to 70.4 (1916) per cent. for the north area, support what has already been said in general terms, namely, that large-scale farming, and particularly ranching is the leading agricultural practice in the Mormon country. The emphasis on summer fallowing as a means of moisture conservation is indicated by the relatively small proportion of improved acreage sown in field crops for a given year. The figures for the north area range

³ Data compiled from *Census of Canada, 1921* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), Vol. V, Table 81; *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), Tables 95 and 97).

from 55.7 per cent. in 1916 to 64.6 per cent. in 1921. In the south area the range is from 61.9 per cent. in 1926 to 70.6 per cent. in 1921.

Table XXXV also indicates that wheat has been the major field crop in both sections of the Mormon country and that its proportions, relative to all other crops, increased by 24 per cent. in both sections over the decade ending in 1926. High prices for wheat at the close of the war doubtless explain the 1921 expansion of the wheat area by 61 acres per farm over the 1916 average for the north area. Other crops include the coarser grains, such as

TABLE XXXVI—IRRIGATION PROJECTS IN THE MORMON COUNTRY, ALBERTA, 1928, 1931*

PROJECT	SOURCE	IRRIGABLE AREA (acres)		LENGTH OF CANALS (miles)		AREA IRRIGATED (acres)	
		1928	1931	1928	1931	1928	1931
United Irrigation District.	Belly River.	34,250	34,235	175	175	2,576	12,983
Raymond District.	St. Mary†.	15,130	15,129	15	15	6,800	9,000
Magrath District.	St. Mary†.	6,960	6,975	90	90	800	3,400
Total Mormon Irrigation Projects		56,340	56,339	280	280	10,176	25,383

* *Canada Year Book, 1930* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), p. 250; 1933, p. 267.

† By agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company the Magrath and Raymond irrigation districts procure their water supply from the main canal of the former's Lethbridge section.

oats, rye, and barley, also hay and forage crops, mainly timothy, brome grass, and alfalfa, and finally root crops, including sugar-beets, turnips, and potatoes.⁴ The data indicate that in the decade 1916-1926 the acreage for all "other" crops decreased by an average of 29 acres or 24 per cent. in the north area, and 17 acres, or 24 per cent. of all field crops in the south area. The census data presented here make it quite clear that wheat was by far the greatest field crop in the Mormon country for the decade ending in 1926. Nor is there any reason to suppose that greater diversification will greatly reduce its importance in the near future.

3. Mormon Sugar-Beet Industry

Questions concerning sugar-beet production naturally arise at this point. What are the areas, how large are the acreages, and

⁴ Agricultural data on a municipal basis are unfortunately not yet available for the 1931 Census; therefore the trend cannot be traced for recent years.

how great is the production of beets about which we hear so much in connection with the Mormon country? In order to answer these questions we must analyse developments of irrigation schemes and the production figures of sugar-beet crops because the actual production of beet-sugar is dependent on both.

Reference has already been made to the early irrigation schemes sponsored by the Mormons in the Raymond-Magrath and in the Glenwood-Hillspring districts.⁵ The most recent data on their extent are indicated in Table XXXVI.

The total irrigable areas in the three districts comprised 56,339 acres in 1931. The acreage actually irrigated that year was 25,383 acres or 45 per cent. of the total, while the corresponding figures for 1928 were only 10,176 acres or 18 per cent. of the irrigable area.⁶ It should be noted that the irrigation projects discussed so far refer only to those within the Mormon country as studied here. But it is of interest to mention also that in 1931 the other major irrigation projects in southern Alberta had an irrigable area totalling 963,890 acres, of which 325,899 acres or 34 per cent. were irrigated that year.⁷

The Mormon pioneers in Alberta were familiar with irrigation farming in Utah and Idaho, and naturally enough they were among the first to realize its possibilities in the semi-arid region in which they settled. Kinship ties, experience in coöperation fostered by their religion, and their desire to live in villages were some of the important human factors favouring such an enterprise. Still another advantage, already mentioned elsewhere, was the inflow of capital, both from private investors and from the Mormon Church in Utah.

In spite of all these favouring circumstances the early ventures in irrigation and sugar-beet growing were not successful. The Knight Sugar Company which built a factory at Raymond in 1903, was never able to secure more than 22,000 tons of beets a year, and in some years the tonnage dropped as low as 8,000. The caprices of the weather and the lack of necessary supply were the two main difficulties. The Mormons settled in Alberta at a time

⁵ See Chapter X, section 5, and Chapter XI, section 3.

⁶ The total precipitation and the amount of irrigable land sown in field crops, which do not require irrigation (i.e., wheat), are among the factors which determine the acreage which is actually irrigated during a given year. In 1928, for example, the precipitation at Lethbridge was 18.08 inches, about 2 inches above the average for 27 years. It is quite possible that the 10.86 inches of rain which fell during May, June, and July of that year made irrigation unnecessary for considerable areas of the country.

⁷ *Canada Year Book*, 1933, p. 267.

when there was a cycle of so-called "wet years". This led many people to believe that the natural moisture supply was sufficient for straight grain farming, and they were therefore reluctant to sign contracts for irrigation of their land. Chinook winds presented another problem, especially when they brought a sudden rise in temperature during late fall after the sugar-beets had been delivered to the factory. Beets are not injured by freezing, provided they remain in that condition, but when chinook winds follow a period of freezing temperature the beets thaw and lose their value. Such disasters occurred several times during the early days of the Alberta sugar industry. But the difficulties in getting the sugar-beets thinned out, weeded, and harvested were perhaps the main reasons for the failure of the first sugar company. Most of the settlers preferred to grow grain by dry-farming methods or to raise livestock rather than undertake the arduous task of growing sugar-beets.

In order to keep the factory operating at a profit the Knight Sugar Company imported raw sugar from Germany and refined it in the Raymond factory. But neither this adjustment nor the bounties for sugar-beets provided by the Alberta government for the period 1905-1910 sufficed to keep it in operation.⁸ In 1914 the sugar factory closed, and it was dismantled a year later. Then followed a lull in the Alberta sugar industry, until 1924 when a new company, the Canadian Sugar Factory, Ltd.⁹ built its plant in Raymond (Fig. 40), and bought most of the irrigable land owned by the Knight interests. This ten-year interval almost coincides with the period for which census data on agricultural production in the Mormon Country are available (see Table XXXV above). Herein lies the explanation for the fact that the sugar-beet acreage in the Raymond district was only 1 acre per farm in 1916. No beets were reported in 1921, but by 1926 the advent of the new factory had resulted in an average of 5 acres of sugar-beets per farm for one municipality.¹⁰ The more recent developments in the Raymond sugar-beet industry were studied during the field survey in the summer of 1930 and the data are presented in Table XXXVII. The amount harvested rose from 41,465 tons in 1925

⁸ See *Canada Year Book*, 1925, p. 256.

⁹ A Canadian subsidiary of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, in which the Mormon Church of Utah has large investments.

¹⁰ It is assumed here that the census classification "other field roots" refers to sugar-beets, since potatoes and turnips are classified separately. See *Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926*, Part II, Table 98. Sugar-beet acreages given above refer to Sugar City Municipality No. 37.



FIG. 41—United Irrigation District, Alberta, as seen from Hillspring (formerly the old Cochrane ranch)

to 102,975 tons in 1930.¹⁰ The yield varied from 7.26 to 7.72 tons per acre during these five years, and the selling price averaged from \$5.00 to \$8.16 per ton. This means that the gross returns to the beet growers varied from \$38.40 per acre in 1925 to \$63.00 per acre in 1927. Information obtained more recently¹¹ indicates that 1932 deliveries of sugar-beets to the Raymond factory totalled over 150,000 tons, and that the factory "could quite easily get contracts for double that amount if it could be handled."¹²

TABLE XXXVII—ACREAGE, YIELD, PRICE, AND AVERAGE RETURN PER ACRE OF SUGAR-BEETS IN THE RAYMOND DISTRICT*

YEAR	AREA IN SUGAR-BEETS			AVERAGE TONS PER ACRE	PRICE PER TON (dollars)	AVERAGE RETURN PER ACRE (dollars)	TOTAL AMOUNT HARVESTED (tons)
	PLANTED (acres)	ABANDONED (acres)	HARVESTED (acres)				
1925	6,649	1,255	5,394	7.68	5.00	38.40	41,465
1926	6,638	1,535	5,103	7.30	7.72	56.36	37,249
1927	6,630	2,240	4,390	7.72	8.16	63.00	33,902
1928	7,342	2,161	5,181	7.26	7.00	50.82	37,608
1929	10,017	1,733	8,284	7.47	7.00	52.29	61,910
1930	14,530	800	13,730	7.50	7.00	52.50	102,975†

* Refers to the area from which beets are shipped to the Raymond-sugar factory.

† Estimated.

The earlier difficulties of getting sufficient labour supply appear to have been met in two ways: (1) A number of Central Europeans and Orientals have been attracted to the Raymond district in recent years.¹³ Many of the growers plant the sugar-beets in the spring and arrange for the thinning and weeding of the beets by contracts with these labourers from the "outside". The rates are usually set at so much per acre plus a bonus on the tonnage harvested. (2) The slump in grain and livestock prices and the relatively high price of beets during recent years have been additional inducements to increase the growing of beets. It should be

¹¹ Supplied by Mr. A. E. Palmer, Assistant Superintendent of the Dominion Experimental Farms at Lethbridge.

¹² In 1931 the British Columbia Sugar Refinery purchased the Raymond plant. Since this firm also refines cane sugar in Vancouver it may not desire to expand its beet-sugar production in Alberta. Favourable tariff protection for the beet-sugar industry is another determining factor in future expansion.

¹³ *Census of Canada, 1931*, Bull. No. XXII, Table 3, lists 182 Hungarians, and 153 Chinese and Japanese in Sugar City Municipality No. 37. Since the 1931 Census was taken in June, these figures may possibly refer to seasonal labourers who go elsewhere for work during the winter months.

kept in mind, however, that a person not accustomed to hoeing will avoid that type of employment if at all possible. Beet growing, like the dairy industry, expands during "hard times" and contracts during "good times," and these changes are in part related to the available labour supply.

In spite of the recent upswing in the growing of sugar-beets there is little possibility that it will replace wheat as the major field crop in the Mormon country. It is estimated that about 800 farmers grew beets for the Raymond factory in 1930.¹⁴ The area harvested in the district that year was 13,730 acres (see Table XXXVII) which would represent an average of 17.1 acres for each farm. But Table XXXV showed that the wheat acreage in the Raymond-Magrath district was 102 acres per farm in 1926,¹⁵ and even the drastic fall in wheat prices since 1929 has probably not reduced this last average by as much as 50 per cent.

4. *Livestock Industry*

Agricultural leaders in the Mormon country are encouraging more diversification in farming than has hitherto been practised. Some of them see an advantage to the livestock and dairy industry in the growing of beets. Cattle and sheep may feed on beet tops after the roots are harvested, and the beet pulp, which is a waste product of the factory, may also be utilized for feed. Some indication of recent trends in the raising of livestock in southwestern Alberta is given in Table XXXVIII. It should be noted that the Mormon country as studied here forms only about one-third of Census Division No. 2. Data on livestock are unfortunately not available on a municipal basis. This means that the averages given in Table XXXVIII are "blanket" averages which cover up regional differences, as for example the concentration of sheep-raising in the southern ranching area, and the concentration of the swine industry in the northeastern part of the census division.¹⁶ But with allowances made for these limitations, there are certain general tendencies worth noting in the figures for the census division as a whole. The number of horses has varied between 14 and 16 per farm over the period studied, but their value

¹⁴ Field notes.

¹⁵ 1931 field crop acreages on a municipal basis are unfortunately not available for comparison here at the time of writing (June, 1935).

¹⁶ See *Agriculture, Climate, and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada, A Statistical Atlas Showing Past Development and Present Conditions*, Prepared under the direction of W. Burton Hurd and T. W. Grindley (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1931), pp. 54-55.

has shown drastic decline, as evidenced by a drop from \$1,368 to \$548 per farm, or from \$92 to \$39 per head. This fall in the price of horses was related to a decreasing demand, due to at least two main factors: (1) the slower expansion of settlement into new areas in recent years; (2) the substitution of tractor for horse power throughout the Prairie Provinces.¹⁷ These circumstances adversely affected the horse ranching industry, which had flourished in southern Alberta in the earlier decades of the century.

TABLE XXXVIII—TRENDS IN THE RAISING OF LIVESTOCK IN CENSUS DIVISION No. 2, ALBERTA, 1921-1931*

ITEM	TOTAL NUMBER IN CENSUS DIVISION NO. 2, ALBERTA			AVERAGE NUMBER PER FARM†			AVERAGE VALUE PER FARM (dollars)		
	1921	1926	1931	1921	1926	1931	1921	1926	1931
Horses...	52,193	64,054	52,436	15	16	14	1,368	908	548
Mules...	265	425	310	**	**	**	9	6	4
Cattle...	83,288	98,948	109,343	24	25	29	1,009	739	926
Sheep...	117,425	129,780	160,105	33	32	43	199	289	202
Swine...	16,550	34,835	81,415	5	9	22	50	81	125
Poultry...	260,091	365,116	464,639	74	91	125	41	43	51
Total Value of All Domestic Animals.....							2,676	2,066	1,856

* *Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. V, Table 89; 1931, Bull. No. XV. Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926, Table 105.*

† These averages are based on total farms reporting domestic animals

** Less than one per farm.

The cattle industry expanded little during the 5-year period ending in 1926. The explanation lies in the post-war slump in cattle prices reflected here in the decline in cattle values from \$1,009 to \$739 per farm, or from \$42 to \$30 per head. An upswing occurred, however, during the following 5 years, when the value of cattle increased by \$187 per farm over the 1926 average, or by \$2 per head. It is impossible to state from the data whether this expansion applies mainly to range cattle or to dairy stock. The census division showed a 40-50 per cent. increase in milch cows on farms during 1920-1925, but it should be remembered that the 1920 total, on which this increase is calculated, was relatively small. In 1925 the distribution of milch cows per farm was much

¹⁷ It is interesting to note that mules are of little numerical importance in southwestern Alberta.

the same for Census Division No. 2, as it was for Census Division No. 1, the semi-arid area directly to the east.¹⁸

Another development which is commonly associated with dairying is the raising of swine. Rapid expansion has taken place particularly in the municipalities where irrigation is practised.¹⁹ Its importance is shown by the rise from 5 to 22 head per farm in the period 1921-1931, and a 150 per cent. increase in the value of swine per farm during the same decade.²⁰

Sheep raising has also become more important in southwestern Alberta as indicated by an increase of 10 head per farm in Census Division No. 2 during 1921-1931. This change is taking place particularly in the ranching areas south and east of Cardston, where sheep are raised in large flocks. The average was 235 head per farm for those reporting sheep in 1931.

Another index of the trend toward mixed farming is seen in the poultry industry. Both number of birds per farm and average value of the flock have shown substantial increases since 1921.

Table XXXVIII suggests, on the whole, that mixed farming in southwestern Alberta is becoming something more than a pious hope of agricultural leaders. The trend towards diversified farming may be inferred from expansion in the number of cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry raised. The figures for swine in particular suggest not only an expansion in the hog industry, but also a greater development of dairying, to which it usually forms an adjunct.

The preceding paragraphs have not shown a balanced picture of agricultural trends in southwestern Alberta. It is necessary to point out here that the importance of the livestock industry must be judged relative to the emphasis placed on grain production. A brief reference to the main sources of farm income in Census Division No. 2 must suffice here. In 1925 the average farm income for Census Division No. 2 was \$2,000-\$3,000. Out of this total only \$600-\$700 came from animals and animal products. The remainder came from all field crops and farm gardens.²¹ Even if we allow for the wide regional difference in farming practices as between the irrigated sections and the areas depending on natural

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 54 and 55.

²⁰ It is possible that the 1931 Census data were recorded at or near the peak of a "hog cycle", that is, the stage at which swine production "boomed".

²¹ *Agriculture, Climate, and Population of Prairie Provinces of Canada*, Figs. 110, 118, on Farm Income.

precipitation for moisture, it seems unlikely that mixed farming will supersede straight grain growing or ranching for a good many years to come.

5. *Financial Status of Farmers in the Mormon Country*

In the following paragraphs an attempt has been made to estimate the economic achievements of farmers in the Mormon country. Several qualifications must be made, however, before we turn to the consideration of quantitative information.

In order to estimate how stable settlement is and how well or how poorly off the farmers in the Mormon country are, it seems necessary to compare them with farmers in some other area. But the Mormon country forms part of a region with certain distinctive environmental features. Its high altitude, variable rainfall, and the capricious chinook winds combine to give a climate which is unique in the Canadian prairie region. Yet this area has certain other features in common with some of the great wheat districts of Saskatchewan. One of these, Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, has therefore been selected for comparison with Census Division No. 2, Alberta, in which the Mormon Country is situated.²² Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, lies south and east of the city of Saskatoon and forms the northern part of what might be termed the "heart of the western wheat region."

Both of the areas mentioned lie within the dark brown soil belt which extends in a wide semi-circle around the true prairie with its brown to greyish soils.²³ A part of the Mormon country, it is true, has the very dark brown soil common to the park belt of Western Canada. Owing to its higher altitudes and its proximity to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormon country has an annual precipitation of 15 to 25 inches for different sub-districts, while Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, averages only 13 inches per year. The latter lies north of the "drought" area of Saskatchewan. The frost-free period is about the same for both regions, 120-125 days for Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, and 120-135 days for the areas below 3,000 feet in altitude in Census Division No. 2, Alberta. Both of these areas were first settled in the 1880's and railways soon linked them with distant world markets. The wide differences in farming practices for various parts of Census

²² Census data on values of farm property, mortgages, and various farm facilities are not available on a municipal basis, and the next larger geographical unit, the census division, has therefore been used here.

²³ See *Agriculture, Climate, and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada*, Fig. 23.

Division No. 2 have already been mentioned in preceding pages. With regard to Census Division No. 11, the agricultural practice is mainly that of wheat growing, with livestock raising as a minor industry.

A few words ought to be said concerning the population elements in the two areas which we are about to compare. In 1931, Census Division No. 2, Alberta, had a total population of 57,186. Those of British ancestry comprised 54.7 per cent., Austrians and Germans 10.8 per cent., and Central and Southeast Europeans²⁴ had a proportion of 15.5 per cent., and the Scandinavians 6.6 per cent. The corresponding figures for Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, were: total population 87,976; British, 60.6 per cent.; Germans 13.7 per cent.; Central and Southeast Europeans, 10.2 per cent.; and Scandinavians 7.7 per cent.²⁵ The predominance of people of British ancestry is then evident in both areas, while Austrians, Germans, and Scandinavians account for about 17 to 21 per cent. of the total, and Central and Southeast Europeans form 10 to 16 per cent. One major difference in population elements in the Alberta area is the predominance of United States-born operators. In 1926 they formed 41 per cent. of all farm operators, while this figure for Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, was only 20 per cent.²⁶ It seems reasonable to suppose that Mormon farmers from Utah account for a large proportion of the United States-born farm operators in Census Division No. 2.

Keeping in mind the general environmental setting of the two areas as given above, we may now turn to a comparison of certain indices of their agricultural achievement, and of their farm facilities. In Table XXXIX the average values of farm property in 1931 is set forth for the two areas. The total value of farm property is \$12,771 per farm in Census Division No. 2, Alberta, or \$3,581 more per farm than in Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan. The averages for land and livestock, in particular, are much higher in the Alberta area than in the Saskatchewan area. Machinery values differ by less than \$100 per farm for the two areas, while buildings average \$336 more per farm in the Saskatchewan area than in the Alberta area. The great difference in land values is related to at least two factors: (1) farms in the Alberta area average 521 acres, or 77 acres more than those in the Saskatchewan

²⁴ Includes Czecho-Slovaks, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Roumanians, Russians, and Ukrainians.

²⁵ *Census of Canada, 1931*, Bull. No. XXII.

²⁶ *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926*, Table 90.

area; (2) the value of land in 1931 was \$16 per acre in the Alberta area, as compared with only \$11 per acre in the Saskatchewan area. Relatively high land values in the irrigated sections of the Alberta area tend to raise the general average for the whole of the census division. The percentage figures indicate the differences already pointed out above, i.e., the relatively greater emphasis on land and livestock in the Alberta area, and on buildings and machinery in the Saskatchewan area.

TABLE XXXIX—VALUES OF FARM PROPERTY*
(Comparison of Census Division No. 2, Alberta with Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, 1931)

	CENSUS DIVISION NO. 2, ALBERTA		CENSUS DIVISION NO. 11, SASKATCHEWAN	
	AVERAGE PER FARM (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER FARM (dollars)	PER CENT.
Total.....	12,771	100.0	9,190	100.0
Land.....	8,090	63.3	4,691	51.1
Buildings.....	1,808	14.2	2,144	23.3
Machinery.....	1,469	11.5	1,545	16.8
Livestock.....	1,404	11.0	810	8.8
Number of Occupied Farms....	4,918		7,440	
Acreage of Occupied Farms....	519		444	

* *Census of Canada, 1931, Bull. No. XIX.*

Some of the questions one might ask about mortgage indebtedness on farms in the two areas studied are answered by the figures in Table XL. The Alberta area compares favourably with the Saskatchewan area for nearly all the items, but particularly for the proportion of fully-owned farms which reported mortgage debt, i.e., 28.5 and 54.6 per cent., respectively. The acreage of the mortgaged Alberta farms is greater than that for the Saskatchewan farms, and the same relationship holds for the value of land and buildings. The result is, that, although the Alberta farms average \$218 more mortgage debt than do the Saskatchewan farms, the ratio of mortgage debt to farm value is only 38.3 per cent. for the former as compared with 40.6 per cent. for the latter. If we compare the two areas on the basis of "value of total farm property

per acre" and the "amount of mortgage debt per acre," the figures are practically the same. Again, the ratio of "fully-owned farms reporting mortgage debt" to "all occupied farms" is very much lower for the Alberta area than for the Saskatchewan area. It must be remembered, of course, that all these figures are *general averages* for the whole census division, and that regional differences

TABLE XL—MORTGAGE INDEBTEDNESS ON FULLY-OWNED FARMS*
(Comparison of Census Division No. 2, Alberta, with Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, 1931)

	UNIT	CENSUS Div. No. 2, ALBERTA (average per farm)	CENSUS Div. No. 11, SASK. (average per farm)
Number of farms reporting mortgage debt. . .	number	927	2,341
Per cent. of total number of fully-owned farms..	per cent.	28.5	54.6
Acreage of farms reporting mortgage debt. . . .	acres	448	424
Value of land and buildings.	dollars	10,999	9,818
Amount of mortgage debt.	dollars	4,207	3,989
Ratio of mortgage debt to farm value†.	per cent.	38.3	40.6
Value of total farm property per acre.	dollars	24.6	23.2
Amount of mortgage debt per acre.	dollars	9.4	9.4
Total occupied farms.	number	4,918	7,440†
Ratio of fully-owned farms reporting mortgage debt to all occupied farms.	per cent.	18.8	31.5

* *Census of Canada, 1931*, Bull. No. XIX, Table 11. The question on mortgage debt was asked in 1931 for the first time, hence no comparative data are available.

† In order to state the ratio of the mortgage debt to the value of the farms, only the "fully-owned" farms were considered, because in the case of the "partly-owned, partly-rented" farms the value of the farm was stated as a whole, and it is therefore impossible to determine the value of the part which is owned. The number of fully-owned farms in Census Division No. 2, Alberta, represent 66.1 per cent. of all occupied farms, and the corresponding figure for Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, is 57.7 per cent.

within the Alberta area, for example, may possibly be greater than those indicated here between the two census divisions. But assuming that the above general averages fairly represent the situation in each area, it is clear that the farmers in southwestern Alberta are quite as well situated with regard to equity in their farms as are those in the wheat area southeast of Saskatoon.²⁷

²⁷ It is of interest to note that the figures for abandoned farms in the period 1921-26 were low for both areas, i.e., 89 for C.D. No. 2, Alberta, and 136 for C.D. No. 11, Saskatchewan.

The inclusion of the above data in a study of the Mormons in southwestern Alberta involves the further assumption that the figures fairly indicate the financial status of the Mormons as well as that of their "gentile" neighbours.²⁸

Only fragmentary data are available on how farm families actually live in the two census divisions compared above. Yet even such indices as the distribution of farm conveniences and the accessibility of trade centres with their various facilities tell a good deal about the mode of living on western farms.

TABLE XLI—FARM FACILITIES, 1931*
(Comparison of Census Division No. 2, Alberta, with Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan)

ITEM	CENSUS DIVISION NO. 2, ALBERTA		CENSUS DIVISION NO. 11 SASKATCHEWAN	
	Number of Farms Report- ing Facilities	Per cent. of all Occupied Farms	Number of Farms Report- ing Facilities	Per cent. of all Occupied Farms
Automobile.....	2,500	50.8	4,142	55.7
Telephone.....	1,439	29.3	3,395	45.6
Radio.....	1,157	23.5	2,032	27.3
Water piped into kitchen...	302	6.1	181	2.4
Water piped into bathroom...	162	3.3	164	2.2
Electric light or gas.....	479	9.7	316	4.2
Number of occupied farms..	4,918	100.0	7,440	100.0

* *Census of Canada, 1931, Bull. No. XIX, Table 12.*

Table XLI shows that about one-half of the occupied farms in each of the two census divisions had automobiles, that approximately one-quarter had radios in the house, and that telephones were installed in 29 and 46 per cent. of the Alberta and Saskatchewan farm homes, respectively. With regard to household conveniences, such as water piped into kitchen or bathroom, and electric light or gas, we find that the Alberta area ranks higher than the Saskatchewan area. In both areas, however, the proportion of farm houses which have one of these facilities is less than 10 per cent.²⁹

²⁸ In 1931 the total rural population in Census Division No. 2, Alberta, was 27,585 but only 17.8 per cent. were Mormons. Table XXXI in Chapter X further indicates that Mormons form 52.5 per cent. of the rural population in certain municipalities and local improvement districts.

²⁹ The Ontario figures for 1931 are of interest here by way of comparison. (Continued on next page)

Distance from a railway trade centre is one index of how accessible various community facilities are to rural families in the areas compared. Table XLII shows a greater range of distances for Census Division No. 2, Alberta, than for Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan. The fact that 12.7 per cent. of the farmers in southwestern Alberta live 15 miles or more from a shipping point, as compared with 4.8 per cent. for the Saskatchewan group, shows how scattered the population is, in some parts at least, of the former area. On the other hand, irrigation farming makes for

TABLE XLII—DISTANCE TO RAILWAY STATION, 1931*

(Comparison of Census Division No. 2, Alberta, with Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan)

DISTANCE IN MILES	CENSUS DIVISION NO. 2, ALBERTA		CENSUS DIVISION NO. 11, SASKATCHEWAN	
	Number of Farms	Per cent.	Number of Farms	Per cent.
Less than 5.....	1,855	37.7	2,949	39.7
5 - 9.....	1,458	29.7	2,763	37.1
10 - 14.....	697	14.2	1,267	17.0
15 - 24.....	504	10.2	358	4.8
25 and over.....	122	2.5	...	....
Not reporting.....	282	5.7	103	1.4
Number of occupied farms..	4,918	100.0	7,440	100.0

* *Census of Canada, 1931, Bull. No. XIX, Table 12.*

clusters of settlements in other districts and brings railway and trade centre facilities within a 10-mile radius for about two-thirds of the farmers of the Alberta group. The fact that a still larger proportion of the Saskatchewan group, 76.8 per cent., lives less than 10 miles from a shipping point is explained by the presence of a network of railway lines converging upon the nearby city of Saskatoon.³⁰

The material presented in this section suggests that farmers in

³⁰ The proportionate distribution in 1931 of all occupied farms in Ontario for various distances from railway centres were: less than 5 miles, 62.6 per cent.; 5-9 miles, 27.6 per cent.; 10-14 miles, 5.2 per cent.; 15-24 miles, 1.8 per cent.; 25 miles and over, 0.8 per cent.; and not reported, 1.9 per cent.

²⁹ (continued) For a total of 192,174 occupied farms the proportionate distribution of farm facilities was as follows: automobiles, 65.4 per cent.; water piped into the kitchen, 10.5 per cent.; water piped into the bathroom, 6.3 per cent.; telephone, 54.1 per cent.; radio, 21.5 per cent.; electric light or gas, 16.8 per cent.

southwestern Alberta are, on the whole, in as stable a financial position as are those of the Saskatchewan area, with whom they have been compared. On the other hand, the figures on size of farms, values of farm property, and distances from railway centres all point to a greater amount of large-scale farming in the Alberta than in the Saskatchewan area. This implies sparse population in many localities and therefore fewer of the social facilities that are commonly found in mixed farming districts. But in the Alberta area the undue weighting of the general averages by a few very large farms and ranches³¹ unfortunately obscures the conditions in the more densely populated irrigation districts. But they are probably fairly typical of the ranching areas in Local Improvement Districts Nos. 8 and 9, and of Cochrane Municipality where one-half to over four-fifths of the population are Mormons.

6. *Marginal Living on the Orton Fringe*

It must not be supposed that all Mormons are so well situated financially as the analysis in the preceding pages might lead one to believe. The region in which they live has its "fringe" areas as well as its districts of stable settlement. Some indication of how extreme variability of climate results in continued pioneer living conditions is well shown by reference to one "fringe" area northwest of Lethbridge.

The pioneer days in the Orton settlement have been described in an earlier chapter and the discussion here will therefore refer only to present-day conditions. Most of the original families have remained here in spite of repeated crop failures. It is a dry-farming area, principally used for wheat growing, and in good years the yield has been as high as 50 bushels per acre. A succession of dry years, however, has reduced the average yield to 10 bushels or less per acre. These recent crop failures have given some impetus to diversified farming, and this change has been encouraged by both religious and secular leaders.

The size, form of tenure, and amount of mortgage indebtedness of 11 Orton farms is given in Table XLIII. The farmers in this group own all or part of the land they occupy, and 7 of them

³¹ *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926, Part II, Table 95.* The distribution of farms according to size in Census Division No. 2, Alberta, was as follows: Total occupied farms, 4,542; less than one-half section, 60.8 per cent.; one-half to one section, 23.3 per cent.; over one section, 15.9 per cent. The corresponding figures for Census Division No. 11, Saskatchewan, were: total occupied farms, 6,805; less than one-half section, 53.6 per cent.; one-half to one section, 33.6 per cent.; more than one section, 12.8 per cent. Moreover, the Alberta area had 355 farms which were more than one and one-half sections in size; the Saskatchewan area had 260 farms in this group.

operate over 500 acres. Mortgages on owned land vary from \$700 to \$3,400 per farm, except in one case, where a staggering debt of \$11,000 has accumulated on a half section over a period of 29 years.³² The mortgage indebtedness averaged \$7.50 per acre of owned land for the 9 Orton farms which reported such debt, as compared with \$9.40 per acre for owned farms in the whole census division (see Table XL). The predominance of wheat is seen from the fact that in 1930 the wheat area on these 11 farms averaged 229 acres, while only 50 acres per farm were sown in oats.

TABLE XLIII—SIZE OF FARM, TENURE, AND MORTGAGE INDEBTEDNESS OF ELEVEN ORTON FARMERS

FARMER	TOTAL ACREAGE	ACREAGE OWNED	ACREAGE RENTED	MORTGAGE ON OWNED LAND (dollars)
A.....	480	320	160	11,000
B.....	620	300	320	3,000
C.....	320	160	160	700
D.....	560	560	...	3,400
E.....	560	560	...	1,200
F.....	290	240	50	.....
G.....	800	480	320	1,800
H.....	520	520	...	789
I.....	320	320	...	2,000
J.....	640	480	160	.....
K.....	2,020	320	1,700	2,100

Reports on livestock kept on 10 Orton farms show that, apart from wheat, sheep and swine form the main sources of farm income. The average for the 8 farms reporting sheep was 173 head, and the average for 9 farms reporting swine was 19 head. An average of 10 head of cattle for the 9 farms reporting shows that only enough cows are kept to supply the farm families' own needs for milk, butter, and beef. Horses still do most of the field work on Orton farms as evidenced by an average of 12 head per farm. But additional power was supplied by the tractors reported for 6 of the 11 farms studied. An average of 93 chickens per farm indicated that poultry produce was an additional source of income on these fringe farms.

³² Foreclosure proceedings were taken against this property at the time of survey, and it was estimated that the farm would sell for less than one-third of the amount of mortgage.



FIG. 42—Public school at Orton, Alberta.

The above reference to Orton farms as productive units gives some notion of the general economic setting in which the people live. Some additional information was gathered concerning the families themselves, about their homes, and their social contacts. Large families are the rule in this Mormon settlement. The number of children born in 13 families averaged 8.5, and the



FIG. 43—New L.D.S. chapel at Orton, Alberta.

number now living averaged 7.1 per family. Only 6 out of the 13 families could be considered "filled", since the mothers were over 45 years of age. The number of children in these "filled" families averaged 11.1 as compared with 11.3 and 11.5 in the families of the grandfathers. It is significant to note in this connection that Mormon theology encourages a practically unrestricted birth rate; yet in Utah the birth rate is declining. The evidence from the Orton families suggests a "lag" in this respect as between Mormons in Utah and those in this section of Canada.

The housing facilities in Orton are none too adequate when one considers the size of the families. All of the houses are of frame construction and none of them have telephones or electric light. The water supply comes from the community's 6 wells, and the families who have no well of their own have to haul water either from a neighbouring farm or from the village well. With regard to housing, the following figures for the 13 houses are of interest. One house is 8-roomed, one is 7-roomed, five houses have 5 rooms, five houses have 4 rooms, and one house has only 2 rooms. This gives an average of 0.63 rooms per person. The most extreme case of over-crowding is that of a family of 16 persons (14 children) living in a 4-roomed house. Both village and farm houses have good gardens, but there are few trees around the farm homes. The general appearance of the houses indicates the economic stress under which these Orton families live.

Elementary education in Orton is provided in a 1-roomed public school under the direction of a non-Mormon teacher. Economic conditions rather than Mormon ideologies have prevented most of the Orton children from going away to high school. Enquiry into the educational status of the parents showed that 6 out of a total of 26 had finished public school; 1 had completed high school; 2 had attended college for 1-2 years. The remaining 17 had less than eighth grade standing. One of this latter group was illiterate.

An unfortunate situation confronts this community, however, from a social and biological standpoint. Inter-marriage among close relatives is likely to become the custom. Attention has been called to the fact that the original settlers of this area were a kinship group, and it is therefore difficult for a young person to find a suitable mate who is not a cousin. This situation results from the physical isolation of this community from the remainder of the Lethbridge Stake. This isolation is largely a function of economic

conditions rather than one of distance. As one of the leading men of the community put it, "Our boys cannot afford to go to other towns to attend social functions; they cannot dress as well, or have as much to spend as other boys." The problem is one which calls for intelligent leadership for its solution.

The question naturally arises as to why these families remain in an area where living conditions are so precarious. One answer lies in the fact that they are reluctant to abandon the farms in which they have made considerable investments over a period of years. Several of the Orton farmers, moreover, expressed the opinion that they were "better off" here than were relatives who had remained in older communities in Idaho. But perhaps the strongest reason lies in the group solidarity fostered by kinship ties and a common faith. The encouragement given the Orton pioneers from time to time by their church has also helped to build up a stronger group morale than is commonly found in the individual type of settlement.

CHAPTER XIII

PERSISTENCE OF CHURCH DOMINANCE IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

IT WAS indicated in a preceding section that the Mormons stand midway between the sectarian rigidity of the Doukhobors and the Mennonites, and the types of compromise with secular interests which the historic denominations have shown almost everywhere. It has been noted that the sects which are emphatically uncompromising in regard to other "ways of life" undergo several divisions as a result of the subtle penetration of the outside world. Some of these residual groups may merge and evolve after the fashion of those denominations which have made their peace with a world that has become increasingly secular in its manner of living. Such is the more recent trend among the Mennonites in Canada and the United States.

The evolution of the Mormon Church has not been marked by many splits nor has that sectarian enthusiasm, born during days of bitter opposition, disappeared entirely. Mormons have shown great aptitude for taking over the ideas and techniques of the outside world and making them integral phases of the Mormon way of life. This may be seen most concretely in the many forms of social and educational organizations which they have developed and made the practical instruments of their religious faith. With a shrewd sense of the realities in their situation, they have extended their religious organization to supply and control the means of satisfaction of nearly all human interests. They did not resist the diffusion of "gentile" culture but adapted it to their ideologies and thereby added to the efficiency of their church. This achievement may be attributed, in part at least, to the influence of their sacred books,¹ to their hierarchy of religious leadership, and to the administrative centralization which has resulted from the latter.

¹ Mormons have what they term "the standard books of the Church which include The Bible, Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and The Pearl of Great Price. The Bible is much more important to them than the others, which they look upon as "continued revelation". Of even more practical importance to their social relationships in many particulars are their "Articles of Faith". One of them commits the Church to tolerance; another says the members are to accept all truth from whatever source. This means in practice that Mormons are to accept and adapt "gentile good things" to their own purposes.



FIG. 44—Mormon fathers' and sons' outing near Pass Creek, Alberta. This is an annual event, sponsored by the three Canadian stakes.

They have remained sectarian in the midst of "gentile" communities which surround them but the eclectic nature of their religion makes them adaptable in a great variety of social situations. They have remained, in a measure, a "peculiar people", but the process of their social adjustment is taking place with a minimum of conflict and social disorganization.

1. Religious Institutions

The dominant factor in the Canadian Mormon settlement is religious organization. The influence of this social institution, which enters all ramifications of life in this area, is of unusual significance. Common-sense observation tells us that the religious homogeneity of the Mormon group in Canada, together with a great diversity of religious activities which were set in motion immediately after the settlement began, constituted a major element in the persistence of these communities on the frontier. The social life provided by the church mitigated loneliness, and the ideologies which it sponsored gave a spiritual sanction to pioneering. Economic reverses were trials to test the faithful and were not to be taken as evidence of the unsuitability of the area for settlement. Somehow, through faith and hard work, the unfavourable elements were to be tempered by divine intervention, and in spite of many odds, the prairie was to be reclaimed.

The Latter-day Saints in Alberta² at the present time are organized into three stakes: Alberta, with Cardston as the headquarters; Taylor, with Raymond as the centre; and Lethbridge, centred in the city of the same name. These three major divisions are each presided over by a presidency, composed of a president, a first and a second councillor. The clerical work of the stake is looked after by a stake clerk. In addition to the stake presidency there is a stake high council, consisting of from 12 to 15 men, who constitute an advisory and to some extent a legislative body for the stake.

It is well to point out at this time that all of the leaders in the Mormon Church organization are laymen. That is to say, there is no professional ministry such as exists in most other denominations. The men who fill positions of responsibility in the Mormon Church are expected to devote only a part of their time to the work, and receive no financial remuneration (except in the case of the stake president, stake clerk, bishop, and ward clerk; and in

² The Census of 1931 reports 13,185 Mormons in Alberta.

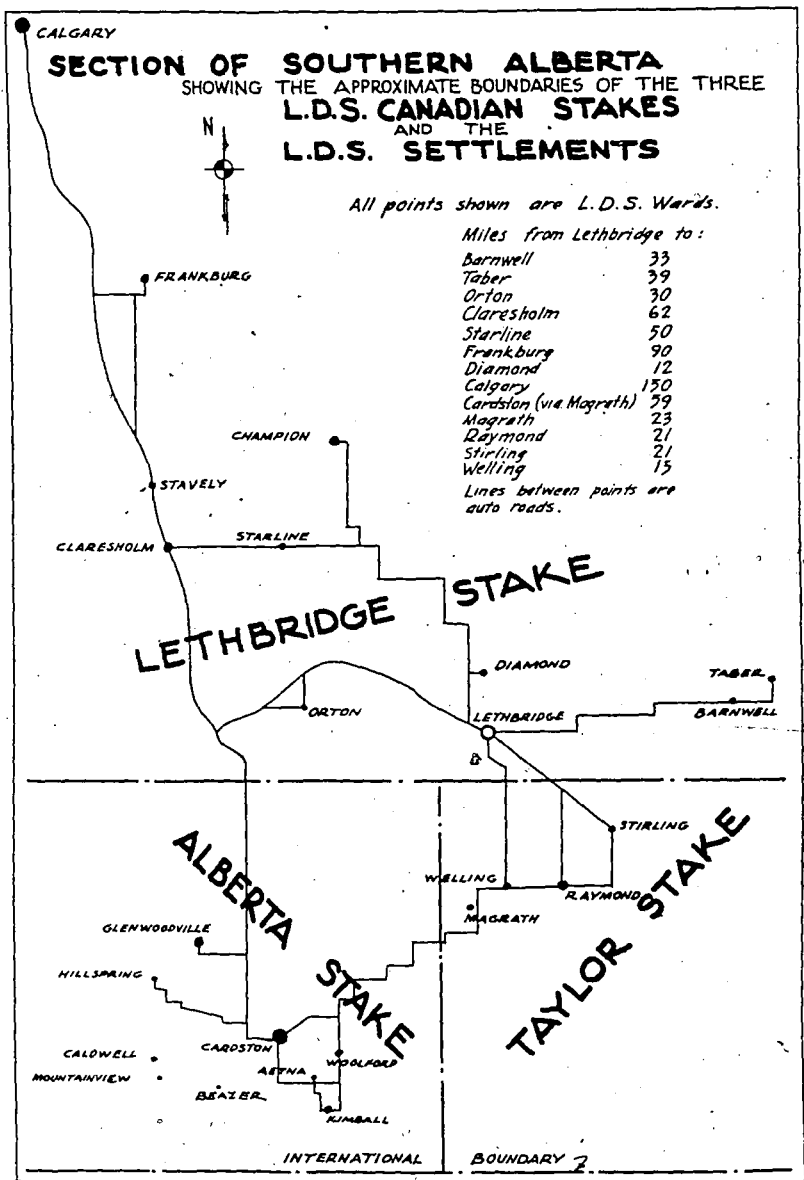


FIG. 45—Section of southern Alberta showing Mormon "Stakes".

these cases the amount is a mere pittance, amounting to perhaps \$100 or \$200 a year).

The officers of the stake supervise the work of the wards, which

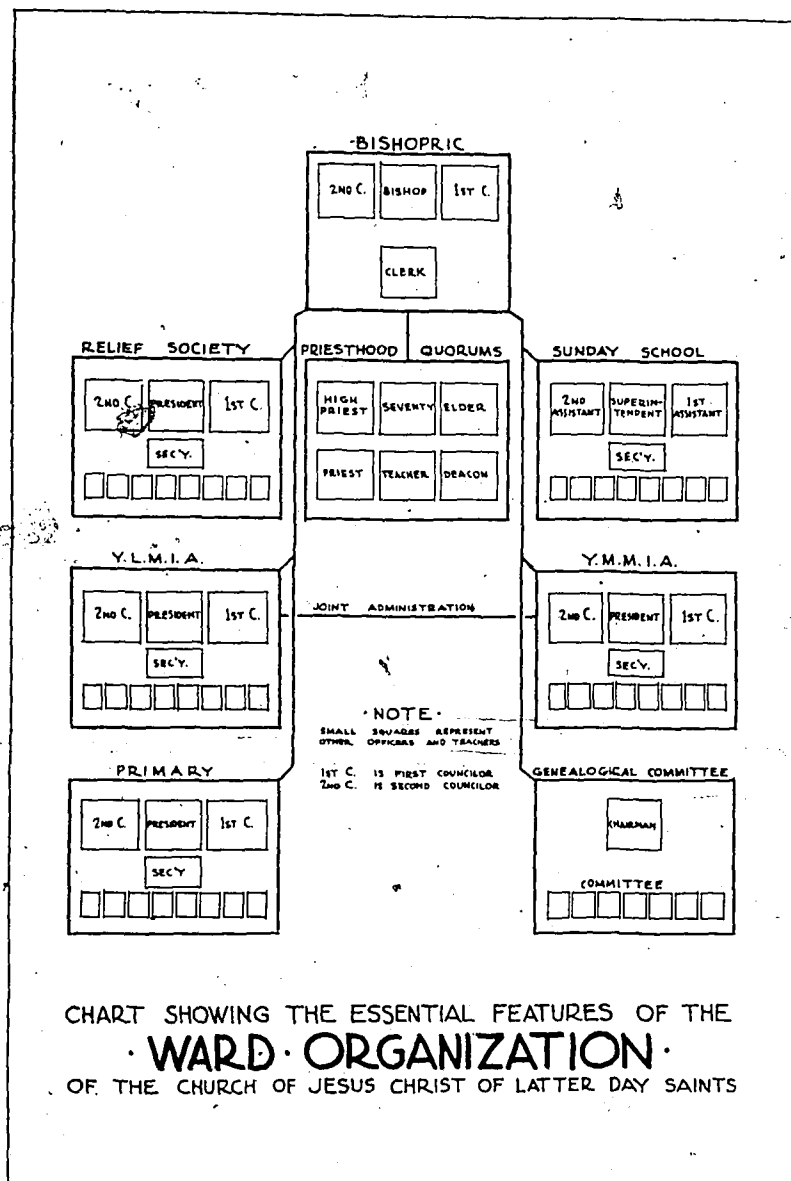


FIG. 46—Diagram of L.D.S. ward organization.

are subdivisions within the stake. When a bishop of a ward resigns or is released, the stake presidency has the responsibility of appointing a new bishop. Technically, the stake presidency nominates

the bishop, who must be sustained by the members of the ward. The stake presidency also appoints the members of stake boards which preside over the auxiliary organizations, to be described later.

The ward is the smallest subdivision of the Mormon church organization and corresponds to the parish or the congregation in other denominations. In the case of a very small number of people, the usual practice is to organize them into a branch, which carries on only part of the functions in the church, usually Sunday school in the morning, and sacrament meeting on Sunday afternoon or evening. The ward is presided over by a bishopric, consisting of the bishop, his first and second councillors, and a ward clerk to handle the clerical affairs of the unit. These men, as indicated previously, are selected by the stake presidency from the rank and file of the church membership, and must be voted for or sustained by the uplifted hands of the congregation.

The auxiliary organizations of the church are many and provide extensive activities for those who will take advantage of them. The bishopric appoints all of the officers of the organizations within the ward and the membership sustains the appointments. Each of the organizations are briefly described as follows:

1. Priesthood Quorums:³ are organizations open to all male members of the church over twelve years of age. Divisions are made on the basis of age and experience. They are listed here in ascending age-groups:

a. Deacons' Quorum: is open to all boys from 12 to 14 years of age. Officers consist of a president, two councillors, and a secretary.

b. Teachers' Quorum: is open to boys from 15 to 17 years of age. Officers consist of a president, two councillors, and a secretary.

c. Priests' Quorum: is usually open to boys from 18 to 20 years of age. Officers consist of a president, two councillors, and a secretary.

d. Elders' Quorum: consists of men who have been advanced from the lower orders of the priesthood, usually men in their twenties when they are first ordained. Officers are: a president, two councillors, and a secretary.

e. Seventies' Quorum: usually consists of men of middle age. It is not presided over by the ward bishopric, but by a general first council of seventy which presides over all seventies in the church. There is one or more quorums in each stake.

f. High Priests: are mostly older men of the community, who have at some time been members of bishoprics or stake presidencies. They are under the direct supervision of the stake presidency, rather than the bishopric of the ward. Meetings are usually held monthly, if not oftener. Officers consist of a president, two councillors, and a secretary.

The priesthood holds a weekly meeting in each ward. After a general assembly, they separate into their various quorums for class work and for con-

³ The word "quorum" as used by the Mormons is not used in the sense of a "working majority"; but rather in the same sense as one might use the word "society" or "club".

ducting such business as concerns them as a quorum. The instruction is usually on matters of church doctrine. One of their members—except in the case of the younger groups—is selected as the class leader.

2. Relief Society.

Membership is open to all women, usually the married women of the ward. Meetings are held every Tuesday afternoon. Its function is the self-improvement of members, and charity and relief work. Teachers make monthly visits to the homes of all members in the ward, to take a special religious message and incidentally to ascertain if anyone is ill or otherwise in need of aid. The first Tuesday meeting of the month is devoted to teacher-training to prepare the teachers for their home visits. The second Tuesday, the teachers make reports of their home visits, and some time is devoted to sewing. This sewing work may be for personal use or for some project of relief. The third Tuesday meeting is devoted to a literary lesson; while the fourth Tuesday is the day for the study of the technique of social work.

3. Sunday School:

A superintendent, two assistants, and a secretary.

4. Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association:

Membership is open to male members, mostly between the ages of 12 and 21, though theoretically to all men over 12 years of age. It meets weekly on Tuesday evenings from September to May jointly with the Y.L.M.I.A. described below. It is graded into junior, senior, married men, and adult classes. The adult class is mixed, being held under the joint auspices of the two organizations. Its function is the self-improvement of members through study and leisure-time activities, with special emphasis on reading, public speaking, dramas, athletics (basketball especially), singing, and dancing. It sponsors the Boy Scout programme for the church.

5. Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association:

Membership is open to all women, but chiefly those from 12 to 21 years of age. It meets weekly, holding preliminary exercises jointly with the Y.L.M.I.A. In fact, the two organizations are conducted under a very close coöperative arrangement. Its function is self-improvement through class and individual study and through a wise use of leisure time. It has an attractive programme for young girls between 13 and 14 years of age which is known in the church as "bee-hive work", and corresponds to the programme of the Girl Guides. The Junior Girls are from 15 to 16 years of age, while the Gleaners are from 17 to 23 years of age. Then there is a senior class, which meets jointly with a corresponding age group of men, approximately 24 to 25 years of age; and an adult group composed of the older people who also wish to participate.

6. Primary:

Membership is composed of boys up to and including 12 years of age, and girls up to and including 13 years of age. It meets weekly, on Monday afternoons usually. The groups and their ages are as follows:

Beginners' Group.....	4-5 years of age
Group One.....	6-7 " "
Group Two.....	8 " "

Zion's Boys.....	9 years of age
Zion's Girls.....	9 " "
Larks (girls).....	10 " "
Blazers (boys).....	10 " "
Bluebirds (girls).....	11 " "
Trekkers (boys).....	11 " "
Seagulls (girls).....	12 " "
Guides (boys).....	12 " "
"Mi-kan-wees (girls).....	13 " "

The programme stresses handicraft work and activities based upon lore and history of the Mormon group.

7. Genealogical Work:

In each stake there is a genealogical representative with two councillors and a secretary, together with a variable number of ten or less, who supervise the work in the wards. The ward committee consists of from 20 to 40 members who are presided over by a chairman. Weekly meetings are held at which various phases of the work are discussed. These phases include genealogical research, the family record, the survey, and social activities. The Mormon people are particularly active in this work as a result of the theological concept of vicarious work for the dead. Each member is expected to see that his departed relative who had no opportunity to "accept the Gospel", has the proper ordinances performed for him by proxy in the temples, in order that he may "progress" in the other world. The ideologies connected with the after life are responsible for the temple-building activities of the Mormon group, as shown, for example, by the temple in Cardston. The ward genealogical committee visits among the people encouraging them to do "temple work", and assisting them in tracing their lineage.

8. Stake Boards:

The various auxiliary organizations, as they are called in the church, keep in touch with the membership in the local unit, that is, the ward. The activities of each, however, are supervised by a stake board. That is to say, there is a stake board of the Y.L.M.I.A. consisting of some dozen members, a stake board of the Y.M.M.I.A. consisting also of some 10 to 15 members, a stake board of the Relief Society, a stake board of the Primary, and a stake board of the Sunday school, each consisting of not less than 10 members and frequently more than that number. There is also the stake genealogical representative and his aids, making another supervisory group of some 15 people.

9. General Boards:

Finally, in the scheme of ecclesiastical government in the Mormon Church, there are the general boards, one for each of the organizations mentioned. These boards aim to contact the workers in their respective fields at least once a year, when they hold conventions for all workers within the stake, including the ward workers, and acquaint them with the programme for the year to come. Thus, to illustrate how the organization functions, a representative of the general boards of the Mutual Improvement Associations (men and women) will go to Canada some time during the late summer and hold conventions, perhaps one in each of the three stakes, when the various phases of the programme—

which, by the way, has been worked out in Salt Lake City by general board committees—are presented and discussed. It is usual to have a large number of new appointees in the various offices of the ward and stake organizations each year, and these have to be made acquainted with the programme and the technique of "putting it over".

To clarify now the manner in which the intricate organization of the church functions, or may function, let us take an individual and follow him through this network of religious contacts. We will assume he is a young man, twenty years of age. On Sunday he will go to Sunday School at 10 a.m., where he may be a teacher



FIG. 47—New L.D.S. chapel at Raymond.

of one of the classes. In this event he will need to be there at 9.30 to attend officers' and teachers' meeting. At 2 p.m. he will attend sacrament meeting, the official meeting of the church. At that session he may be called upon to officiate in preparing and passing the sacrament. On Monday night he will go to the priesthood meeting, unless, as is the growing custom in the church, this meeting is held the hour before Sunday school on Sunday morning. On Tuesday evening he will attend the Mutual Improvement Association, where he may also be a leader of one of the groups, although the policy in the church as far as practicable is one-man-one-job. It may be necessary for him to spend one or two nights a month as "ward teacher". His time spent in church work could, therefore, easily run to more than ten hours a week.

2. Division of Responsibility

It will be seen from the examination of the various organizations that their structure makes necessary a large group of leaders. In fact, it is not unusual to find at least 25 per cent. of the membership holding some official position in the church. There is obviously some social advantage in having so large a portion of the membership assigned some responsibility. It allows for a large measure of individual expression. A young person has an unusual opportunity for experience in the work of leadership, such as presiding at meetings, organizing groups to carry out the programme, and securing response from his followers. Furthermore, a person who has a specific responsibility assigned him will participate to a larger extent in the group activity than one who has not.

This structure has the apparent disadvantage, that a person with outstanding qualifications in the community may be called upon to spend more time in church work than he can afford, in view of the fact that he must make his living from other sources. In fact, a man high in church affairs in one of the settlements made the comment that it was very difficult for Mormon business men and farmers to compete with non-Mormons, because they were so often called away from their places of business or farms to engage in religious activities. There can be no doubt, however, that in the early years of all these communities, Mormon religious institutions provided the means of keeping up community morale against great odds, and that without these opportunities for socialization, individuals would have become discouraged and forsaken the frontier.

3. Role of the Leader

The relation of the religious leadership to the Mormon project in Canada is one of absorbing interest and of vital importance. Crises tend to elevate leaders and to intensify the "all-to-one" relationship of followers to the leaders. Life on the frontier is a rapid succession of crises. The homogeneity of the Mormon group made possible an intense polarization around the leaders. Organization of will was from the top down, rather than from the bottom up. This was true of the early experiences of the Mormons in the Great Basin under Brigham Young, and was equally true in the case of Charles O. Card and the settlement of Alberta. There was an unusual degree of dependence upon the insight, foresight, and inspiration of the leader, and it frequently became his function

to promise the group better times, to give them encouragement by finding reasons why they should be thankful. Thus, President Card, in his journal for Sunday, May 19, 1889, records the following:

I met with the Sunday school at 10 a.m. At the close I addressed them in an encouraging manner . . . Many times the brethren and sisters here in exile feel that they are tried almost beyond that which they can bear. I showed (in my talk in meeting) that we were free and that none of our settlers here had been slain or robbed, but that we were permitted to rest in peace and make a living for our families. In the days of Missouri our brethren and sisters were harshly dealt with, lives were sacrificed, also chastity and liberty, while here we are permitted to live free and build up a settlement even in the Dominion of Canada, to the honour and glory of God's kingdom, and by our good works could spread the truth and add strength to Our Father's kingdom.

And again on May 26th of the same year he says:

I attended Sabbath school at 10 a.m. and meeting at 2 p.m. Addressed the same in an encouraging manner and urged them to do right, lean on the Lord and be so faithful that when they needed the favour of the Lord they could ask and receive.

But not all of the settlers who went from Utah to Canada knew Charles O. Card, nor did they seek his counsel and advice. The following item from Card's journal illustrates in a sense the role which religious organization played in building these frontier towns. The entry is May 27 and 28, 1889:

During these two days I prepared to go and locate the brethren from Kaysville, Davis County, Utah, who had purchased thirty-one sections of township 4, range 24, from the railroad company and had made their first payment of ten per cent. by the hands of Charles Layton. He came here in April and instead of gathering with the Saints at Lee's Creek took a room in Lethbridge and stayed with strangers. His wife, Sarah, accompanied him. He came here with his wife on the eve of the 24th inst. to meet the teams from Kaysville.

May 29, 1889. This morning, accompanied by Brother N. B. Cheney, I started for the Spring Coulee Township, crossed the St. Mary's River about one-half mile below the mouth of Lee's Creek which was so high that the water ran into my buggy. Thence to Spring Coulee where I arrived about 1 p.m., about an hour behind the seven wagons that had preceded me.

To my astonishment, I found them all dissatisfied and ready to leave. With some difficulty I got them to look around a little, only a little. Only two accompanied me over the majority of this purchase and they were in my buggy. These were Brother Charles Layne and Brother Reddish. The springs being dry, all the ponds and lakes were dry; only at the living springs could we find water. They were found in the central and southern part of the tract. However, the St. Mary's River skirted the northwestern portion. We returned to camp about 8 p.m., ate supper with Brother C. Layton's eldest son, stayed all night, and slept in one of the tents.

May 30, 1889. At 8 a.m. we broke camp and went south as far as section 5, where the camp was halted, and looked at a good spring located on the north-west quarter. These people were so disappointed in not finding living water on every section, they would not even unhitch their horses and let them graze. I have said *these people*. They were not all Saints, they were in part apostates and people who have but little respect for the Gospel, which lessens my interest in them, although it may appear weak in me. But I feel that I am here to labour in the colonization of the Latter-day Saints. At the same time I extend an invitation to unbelievers and others who repent and turn unto the Lord.

Card and Cheney after their return to Lee's Creek felt they had "at least done our duty by these people and the cause we represent."

Those who held high positions in the church were also looked to by the people for advice and direction in their economic affairs. The minutes of the various meetings held in the wards in the early period are replete with occasions when economic and practical advice was given the people. Charles O. Card's journal also records many occasions when he gave advice on these matters. Thus on June 2, 1889, Card records that he "made a few remarks at the close of the meeting on the necessity of herding our stock in order to save our hay and grain." And further on the same day:

At 6 p.m. I went to meeting and as the brethren and sisters were tardy in occupying the time, I addressed them. I warned them against greediness in their land entries and exhorted them to live near the Lord, and never profane His name. Told them to seek for faith and rear their children in the ways of the Lord and honour all the laws of God.

On the following Sunday he informs us that Apostle John W. Taylor spoke to the group and gave "in substance the same counsel to the Saints that I had on the previous Sabbath, advising contentment, etc."

If some people did get discouraged and go back to Utah, as was the case shown by an entry in Card's journal of July 18, 1889, the rest were reconciled on the grounds that such people had shown very little faith. As Card says, it "had a tendency to weed out many that were not very faithful Latter-day Saints."

On Saturday, May 31st, 1890, Card makes this significant entry:

As I rose this morning, I found it had been raining during the night. I got ready and went to the Priesthood meeting at 10 a.m. where I met most of the brethren of this ward. After Bishop Woolf and Councillor Johannes Anderson addressed the brethren, I spoke upon the necessity of unity among us in all things, temporal and spiritual, advised coöperation in our business operations, advised the brethren to take the oath of allegiance to the Canadian Government, also to pay their tithes and their offerings, referred to the propriety of buying a saw-mill that we had an opportunity to purchase, that we may obtain building

material more conveniently and cheaply, that we should seek to market our butter and other produce under management that would procure the best market prices, advised them to buy their merchandise in bulk and divide it among themselves, that we should seek to breed from the best horses and cattle, advised the brethren in gathering the things of this world, not to set their hearts upon them and think more of the gift than the Giver, and constantly nurture the good spirit and live by the light of revelation. They should follow their file leaders in everything that was good and praiseworthy.

While Charles O. Card was the resident leader of the Mormon settlement, the man who directed their destinies, both spiritual and temporal, the great impresario of the whole movement, was John W. Taylor, one of the Twelve Apostles of the Mormon Church. Holding higher ecclesiastical authority than did Card, and being an orator of unusual ability, his word swayed the group with great force. To the people in Utah he painted a glowing picture of the opportunities that Canada offered to the new settler. To the settlers in Canada he promised a brilliant and prosperous future. Although he has been dead for a number of years, his glowing promises for Canada are frequently referred to by the Alberta settlers.

4. Role of Prophecy

Prophecies concerning the future of Canada are a vital part of the folklore of the Mormon group. Charles O. Card cites an instance of his prophetic announcement regarding Canada. In his journal for July 14, 1889, Card says:

We gathered in fast meeting at 10 a.m. where the brethren and sisters met in asking for rain to moisten the soil as we have only had two or three showers for two months and much of our crops and gardens are dried or parched, also the grass. After the brethren and sisters had testified for a time, Elder John W. Taylor arose and spoke and bore a powerful testimony, stating that he had beheld the Saviour. *He predicted that this would become a fruitful land and that in time it would be a haven of rest for those of our people who desired to serve the Lord.*

Mormon people in Canada today tell of numerous promises for the future which Taylor uttered in public places and to private individuals. Not only did he express his enthusiasm for the future by word of mouth, he built a home in Cardston for one of his families, and as reported elsewhere, contracted for the purchase of 595,000 acres of land from the Alberta Irrigation Company in 1891.

Mrs. David Wilcox, of Lethbridge (daughter of Mr. John E. Layne, one of the early Mormon pioneers in Cardston in 1887)

related that she heard President Card tell this incident, which is frequently retold by the Mormon people:

It was on the occasion of his (Card's) first visit to the Cardston country in 1886. He had pitched his tent for the night and was sitting inside looking out into the twilight. The wind was blowing a flurry of snow. He was pondering upon his mission to Canada and what was going to come of it. Presently he felt, more than he actually perceived, that there was someone in the tent with him. He looked up and there stood a man dressed in Indian garb. This garb was immaculately clean. The man and he talked into the night, at least three hours; and dwelt upon the possibilities of this country and what was to come. Suddenly the man left as mysteriously as he had come. Card got up and went to the door of the tent and looked out. There were no tracks in the snow—not a sign to indicate that a mortal man had walked out of the tent. President Card said that he thought the man was one of the Three Nephites.⁴

According to Mrs. Wilcox, her father, John E. Layne, prophesied that a temple would be built in Cardston on the hill where it now stands. This prophecy was made in the very early days, probably in the early nineties.⁵

In more recent years, President Edward J. Wood, of the Alberta Stake, has been the dominant figure in the Mormon communities of Canada. One meets no greater enthusiast for the economic future of Canada than President Wood. He is determined that the Mormon settlement shall succeed and prosper. He refuses to look defeat in the face. When the community of Orton, six miles south of Macleod, suffered crop failure year after year, President Wood was the one to whom the people turned for advice. He advised them to stay, promising them that the time would come when Orton would be a big city; that its growth would be slow but sure; that some day water would run down the streets and that trees and flowers and crops would grow in rich profusion. Wood takes direct charge of the large church ranch (the old Cochrane ranch) and is personally attempting to sell the land and the water rights to private individuals and thus promote the colonization of this area and the building of new communities. His slogan

⁴ The three Nephites are individuals spoken of in *The Book of Mormon*, as having been transformed into immortality without tasting death. A rich folklore has been built up around these characters, who play a role not unlike that of the "guardian spirit".

⁵ This prophecy is recorded by C. O. Card in his journal of July 7, 1887. Card states further in the same entry that subsequently, Wilfrid Woodruff, third president of the church, prophesied that many temples would be built in Canada.

for this area is "diversified farming" and he has a farm of his own on the project, which he is attempting to use as a demonstration.

A prophetic outlook was given the people just a few years ago in one of the church conferences of the area by one of the present apostles of the church. He promised them that while they were suffering from depreciating values at the present time, they would see the day when there would be actual scarcity in the land, when the Ten Tribes would come out of the north country to board at their tables.⁶

5. Patriarchal Blessing

Another religious device among the Mormons which acts as a stabilizer to the individual in times of crisis is that of the patriarchal blessing. Men in the church are officially set apart for the position of patriarch. There are usually not more than two or three patriarchs in the stake at a time, and they are elderly men who have held high local ecclesiastical position, such as bishop of a ward or president of a stake. They are supervised by a presiding patriarch in Salt Lake City.

It is the duty of the patriarch to travel among the people and give them blessings. The blessing has a more or less set pattern, and a verbatim record is kept by the patriarch of all the blessings he gives. At the time of pronouncement, the blessing is written down by an assistant. It is a part of the theology of the Latter-day Saints, that they belong literally to the blood of Israel. The patriarchal blessing always identifies the individual with the Israelitish race, usually through the lineage of Ephraim, but sometimes through Manassa. It is the privilege of any member of the church to secure one of these blessings. The following is a sample taken from the record book of Patriarch Theodore Brandley of Stirling, the first bishop of this community and the dominant figure there throughout his long life. Upon his retirement from active leadership in the ward and the stake, he was made a patriarch, and people came to him then as before, not only for his advice but for an official blessing at his hand.

Patriarchal Blessing given by Theodore Brandley upon the head of Frank Lendavid Steed. Born at Farmington, Utah, October 6, 1869. Son of Thomas and Lin L. Steed.

⁶ Mormon theology holds that the Ten Tribes are hidden away somewhere in the north country, and that when the millenium comes a "highway will be thrown up", and they will gather with the rest of Israel on the North American continent. The doctrine is interpreted literally by a number of the leaders as well as by the members of the church.

Brother Franklin, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I lay my hands upon thy head and pronounce and seal upon thee my Patriarchal Blessing which if thou wilt cleave unto it the same will prove a comfort unto thee in all thy journeying through life.

Thou art of the house of Israel and coming through the lineage of Ephraim thou art an heir to the blessing to the new and everlasting covenant. Be thou comforted for God the eternal Father will prepare the way before thee and open up the avenues through which thou wilt be able to accomplish all that thy heart may desire in righteousness. Put thy trust in Him who rules and governs nations, worlds, and individuals, and He will be with thee by day and by night.

Thy guardian angel will be round about thee and protect thee even in the midst of danger. The spirit of God will be thy companion. Listen to its whisperings and thou shalt be led by its power in all things pertaining to thy temporal and spiritual labours. In dreams and visions the Lord will give unto thee warnings and directions in the performance of thy duties. Thy tongue shall be loosed and thy faith increased; thy testimony strengthened and thou shalt know that God lives and that Jesus is the Christ, for thou shalt see His arm made bare in defence of thee, and in the house of Israel. The gift of faith shall be thy portion and in the exercise of this gift guided and directed by the spirit of God, thou shalt heal the sick and cast out evil spirits and go forth as a messenger of peace among thy brethren and those who know not God. Be prudent, prayerful, and humble and the Lord will hear and answer thy prayers and thy heart shall be made to rejoice in the blessings which our Father in Heaven will be pleased to pour down upon thee. I seal thee up unto Eternal life to come forth in the morning of the first resurrection and with many of thy kindred enter into the glories of eternal life clothed with power and with dominion as saviour upon Mt. Zion, which blessings I seal upon thee in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

It will be appreciated that these blessings constitute a source of courage and consolation to the faithful. Individuals beset with fears of illness, financial failure, or any other of the numerous and critical situations that might arise, can find in the patriarchal blessing a spiritual support. No one can doubt that these blessings actually stabilized community and individual life on the frontier. Anyone familiar with the religious life of human beings can appreciate the tremendous force of an institution of this kind.

6. *Healing Ordinances*

Medical services are not always available in frontier communities. People are required to meet health crises as best they can. Healing by the laying on of hands and anointing with consecrated oil were devices commonly used by the Mormons in early pioneer days. The healing ordinances practised by the Latter-day Saints

are administered by two elders. All present are called upon to exercise their faith, including the sick one.

There is scarcely a faithful member of the church in a Mormon community who cannot testify to having been healed from an illness in this way. Card notes in his journal, on the occasion of the birth of the first child in Cardston, that his wife, Sina, acted as the midwife, although she had had no previous experience, and "the brethren united in their faith and prayers". The entries in Card's diary concerning his ministrations to the sick are numerous as are also those in the journal of Theodore Brandley. In the latter's journal of September 14, 1901, we find the following:

I was taken to the Galt Hospital at Lethbridge, and on the 12th day of September underwent a most serious operation performed by Dr. Mewburn. I was placed under ether at 9 a.m. and the operation lasted until 4 p.m. My wife Eliza was permitted to be with me and remained at my bedside both day and night. After the operation, in which twenty-two gallstones were taken from my gall bladder, the doctor gave it as his opinion that I could not live.

Previously I had been blessed and administered to by Apostle Teasdale and other brethren and I had faith that the Lord would heal me. About one week after my operation, Apostle John W. Taylor and Elder John M. Cannon paid me a visit. I was hardly aware of them being near but in the blessing which Brother Taylor gave me he promised me a speedy recovery and that I should live and be prospered in my labours, that my being called on this mission was designed by the Almighty and that I should yet be called to a higher position in the Church.

Immediately after this administration I began to get better, my wounds healed much quicker and better than the doctors anticipated and, to their utter astonishment, I was healed and after being in the hospital for forty-nine days, I returned home, weak and feeble, yet grateful for the blessings of God. I want to record here my testimony that I was healed by the power of God.

7. Weather Crises and Community Prayer

There are other agencies of the Mormon Church which permit group expression in critical situations. Most of these crises arise as a result of the erratic climate of southern Alberta. The weather crises include: drought, rain, wind, and hail. Then, too, there are the outbreaks of insect pests and plant diseases which sometimes work havoc on the crops. In the event of a community crisis as a result of unfavourable weather or an outbreak of some pest, a special day of fasting and praying is sometimes declared as a means of securing relief from this affliction.⁷

Preliminary exercises consist of congregational singing, an opening prayer, and another hymn. The administration of the bread

⁷ These special fast days are held in addition to the regular monthly fast meetings in each ward.

and water of the sacrament takes place and is followed by testimonials from members of the congregation. The net result of this meeting so far as the individual is concerned is one of encouragement, strengthening of his faith, and renewal of his determination to lead a better life. Thus the ward record of the community of Orton contains an account of a special fast meeting held to secure relief from an outbreak of cutworms. Card's journal is replete with entries concerning community prayers for rain to break the drought. President Wood at the present time admonishes the people not to pray for rain, specifically, but to ask God to mature their crops.

The above description of religious institutions among the Mormons is given because, in the opinion of the writer, they played an important role in stabilizing pioneer Mormon communities in Canada. They are rather typical human devices for solving problems which are beyond the reach of common-sense techniques. Without the existence of these devices, it may well be that many human beings, now successful citizens on the Canadian frontier, would long ago have gone down to defeat.

One Mormon woman told of being alone in her cabin with her three children while a blizzard was raging outside. The cabin was a make-shift lodging and cracks in the boards allowed the cold to penetrate. One of the children was ill and died in the mother's arms. She prepared the body for burial with her own hands. Another time this same woman had a harrowing experience with a prairie fire. When she first noticed the fire, she and her two little children were half a mile from a piece of ploughed land which might provide safety. Unable to carry both children at once, she would run several hundred yards with one child, lay him down, and run back to fetch the other infant. The mother repeated this process until she finally reached safety, while the fire spent itself at the edge of the ploughed strip.

Another incident is related by a man of about forty years of age, the father of five children. When he graduated from college in Utah, he married a girl with whom he had become acquainted there, and together they began life on a farm about four miles from Raymond. Their first child became seriously ill one winter night when a blizzard made it impossible to go to town for a doctor. "If I ever prayed in my life," the man relates, "I prayed that night for my baby."

In conclusion we may safely say that the church, functioning

as a social institution with strictly religious forms, such as prayer, ceremony, and ritual, constitutes the most influential stabilizing factor in the Mormon settlements. The Mormons moved to the Canadian prairies in communities. Almost immediately upon their arrival they were able to establish many of the functions of community life. No sooner had they decided upon the town site, than a leader for the group was duly appointed and formal religious organization followed within a relatively short time. This meant social contacts for all individuals, since they were all members of the same church. Their leaders who were both spiritual and economic advisors were able to hold the group intact. The individual was, therefore, seldom a victim of loneliness. Prophecies concerning the future of the country, made by leaders of the church whom he respected, gave the individual a feeling of security and hope. Blessings which he could secure from the authorized patriarchs of the church built up his morale when he was depressed and in a measure charted his future career for him. The healing ordinances helped him to meet the health crises in life, while the community fast-meetings and testimony meetings were sources of spiritual strength and encouragement when an entire settlement suffered from a caprice of the weather or an outbreak of some pest. As was shown in the case of the community of Orton, these religious institutions have held the people to their community, when physical conditions were such as to make it very difficult to remain. There is little doubt that so far as these Mormon settlements are concerned, the largest stabilizing factor has been their religion.

8. Conclusion

The descriptive analysis in the preceding sections has shown how pervasive are the ramifications of Mormon religious organization. This church has developed many organizations which in more individualistic Canadian communities are under secular leadership. Thus very few of the social amenities in the Mormon settlement are provided by purely secular organizations. It is true there are well-patronized motion-picture houses in Mormon towns, but in those districts where Mormon population is predominant, one is impressed by the completeness with which Mormon religious leaders have captured the wider field of social organization.

The Mormon settlements have local self-government as do other communities in Western Canada, when there is sufficient population

to warrant it. This applies particularly to the communities in the irrigated areas and to villages and towns along the railway. But it should be mentioned here that the districts south of Cardston are still too sparsely settled to have municipal institutions, as the names Local Improvement Districts, Nos. 8, 9, and 10 imply. The better-settled Mormon districts also have their agricultural, educational, health, and other government officials whose duties are much the same as in other rural areas.

The Mormon migration to Canada, then, represents a type of sponsored colonization, in which the penetration of the frontier by pioneers was accomplished with the aid and support of the parent community. While the original movement resulted from the initiative of one individual, community support for the project was readily forthcoming. The parent community furnished official encouragement to the private individuals together with a measure of financial support and influential leadership.

It is probably not too much to say that every frontier settlement, even though not officially sponsored and promoted by an older community, nevertheless makes its progress as a result of incidental and miscellaneous flow of capital from older settlements. In this sense, the pioneer fringe is never completely isolated from the general social organism. The difference between pioneer communities in this respect is only one of degree. The Mormon settlements of Canada experienced less isolation from the older settlements than does the community which grows up in response to strictly economic factors and without official control.

One of the features of Mormon colonization, both in the Great Basin and on the prairies of Canada, has been the tendency to move into new areas in groups. A large part, or the whole, of a community may migrate and thus insure immediate introduction on the frontier of the mechanisms of social life. The social pattern followed is the same as that of the older community except for such changes as may be necessary, due to the smaller size of the new settlement, or to special conditions in the new environment. In a Mormon settlement, therefore, the pioneer need not suffer loneliness to the same degree as the newcomer in other frontier areas. It has been mentioned that church organization followed immediately after migration in all the Mormon settlements. At first the affairs of the community were handled through the religious authorities in the religious meeting. A little theocracy was thus

maintained until the community was of sufficient size to justify the necessary differentiation of civic and religious functions.⁸

These institutional forms have been carried over from the parent community, and served well in the early pioneer period, but it is quite possible that the energies of the settlers today are being dissipated by too much organization. That is to say, the leaders of the various church organizations may be giving more time to purely routine matters than they can afford to spare from their private economic enterprises. With a steady infiltration into the Mormon settlements of gentile business men who devote themselves exclusively to their business affairs, the Mormon business man may find himself, as one of them confessed he did, hard pressed to meet the opposition offered by his gentile competitors and at the same time fulfil his religious and social duties. Yet what has been lost in pecuniary advancement for certain individuals may have been returned with interest to the stability of their communities and the achievements of their people as a whole in Canada.

The Mormon settlements of the Prairie Provinces with their 15,000 people⁹ are about to enter upon the second half-century of their existence. They have passed the boom stage, the era of wild expansion, when leaders prophesied almost infinite things for the future. They have now experienced some of the worst of seasons as well as some of the best. They know the extreme variations of southern Alberta's climate. They are beginning to see that after all there are some limits to the expansion of their communities and that their economic life in the future will depend to a large extent upon scientific planning. The president of the Lethbridge Stake, Mr. A. E. Palmer, who is also assistant superintendent of the Dominion Experimental Farms in Lethbridge, is keenly alive to the situation. The staffs of the experimental farms are attempting to find ways and means to bring a larger degree of stability to Alberta agriculture. They believe that stability lies in the direction of a diversified cropping system, with wheat as a major crop, but with sugar-beets playing an important role in the rotation. They are also looking into the possibility of developing the livestock

⁸ In the case of the Mormon colonies in Northern Mexico, this differentiation of civic and religious life has been delayed owing to the fact that the Mormons have not readily amalgamated with the Mexican institutions. They live side by side with the Mexican citizens in the same community and are subject to Mexican officials in purely juridical affairs, but in such projects as civic improvement, the Mormons work out their own plans, and carry them to completion through the religious organization.

⁹ The Census of 1931 gives a total of 15,020 Mormons for the Prairie Provinces, made up as follows: Alberta, 13,185; Saskatchewan, 1,607; and Manitoba, 228 Mormons. •

industry further, and particularly of feeding livestock for the market.

One cannot escape the final conclusion that so far as the Mormon settlers themselves are concerned, the sooner they face the realities of their physical and climatic conditions and give sober consideration to these underlying factors, which condition all economic life, the more secure will be their community life, and the greater their contribution to their new homeland.

PART IV
THE GERMAN CATHOLICS

CHAPTER XIV

SEGREGATION OF GERMAN CATHOLICS

1. Nature and Extent of German Migration

GERMANIC peoples have shown migratory tendencies for centuries. During the Christian era they found their way to the British Isles, Hungary, Roumania, Russia, the United States, Canada, and elsewhere. Sometimes they were invited by feudal aristocrats to colonize their recently acquired territories as in the case of Siebenbuerger, Roumania; sometimes they were the overflow of a migration movement as in Boukowina, Roumania; or they migrated because of religious persecution, as the Mennonites to Russia. As a result there are scattered throughout southeastern Europe large blocks of territories inhabited by peoples originally of Germanic stock. And it is from these territories, particularly from greater Roumania and Russia, that a substantial proportion of twentieth century German immigrants to Canada has come.

Though migration of Germans to the new world dates back to the seventeenth century, the bulk of the movement has taken place during the past one hundred years. In the last half of the nineteenth century, fully 4,500,000 immigrants from Germany were admitted to the United States, while during the twentieth century almost 900,000 have been admitted.¹ From 1870 onward this migration was supplemented from German settlements in other countries. Partly as a result of the withdrawal of privileges granted a century earlier and partly because of sheer population expansion, thousands of German colonists left Russia for the United States, settling mainly in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. Some of these, or their children, later joined the

¹ *Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, 1930* (Washington: Department of Labor), p. 202. *International Migrations*, edited by W. F. Wilcox, (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929), Vol. I, p. 463.

These figures are for all immigration from Germany, which includes Poles, Czechs, etc. For the first three decades of the twentieth century the Germans from Germany form 87 per cent., 84 per cent., and 97 per cent., respectively, of the total migration from Germany to the United States, but only 42 per cent., 35 per cent., and 75 per cent., respectively, of all *German-speaking* immigrants admitted to the United States. In the Canadian immigration reports, *German-speaking* includes immigrants of German origin from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Switzerland, and the United States.

movement to Western Canada, and we find them among the settlers in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies, particularly in the latter.

German settlement in Eastern Canada dates back to 1750 and to the founding of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, in 1753. Following the American Revolution, a number of United Empire Loyalists of German stock, largely Mennonites, settled in Ontario. New immigration from Germany did not begin until 1830 and for decades thereafter it was little more than an appendage of the migration stream to the United States. The main movement of German-speaking peoples to Canada has taken place since the beginning of the twentieth century, and has been directed largely to the Prairie Provinces. Over 64 per cent. in the period 1907-1916 and over 80 per cent. in the years 1922-1931 gave one of the three Prairie Provinces as their destination.²

The Prairie Provinces of today are almost wholly a product of the twentieth century. Settlers came from the eastern provinces, especially Ontario, from the motherland, and from nearly every country of Europe. In addition, large numbers, forming over 55 per cent. of the total movement to the Canadian West in the period 1906-1911 came from the United States.³ Many of these settlers had not yet acquired United States citizenship, and among them were people of German extraction.

Reports of the Minister of Immigration show that the number of German-speaking immigrants coming from United States via Winnipeg increased from 435 in 1900-1901 to 6,730 in 1902-1903. In this latter year they formed 54.4 per cent. of the total of 12,367 German-speaking arrivals recorded at the port of entry at Winnipeg. Many of them were German Catholics on their way to St. Peter's colony in Saskatchewan.

Migrations to this continent, by very reason of their tremendous volume had the appearance of mass movements. Yet they differed from mass movements in that the motives for migration were individualistic, and each migrant sought his own goal. Moreover, the majority of migrants travelled on their own responsibility.

Yet individualistic motives taken alone constitute an insufficient explanation of the migration of a people. The decisions and the acts of the individuals involved do not take place in a vacuum. They are affected profoundly by the interests, excitement, and opportunities which belong to the total situation. It is through

² *Annual Reports of Department of Immigration and Colonization* (Ottawa: 1907-31).

³ *Ibid.*

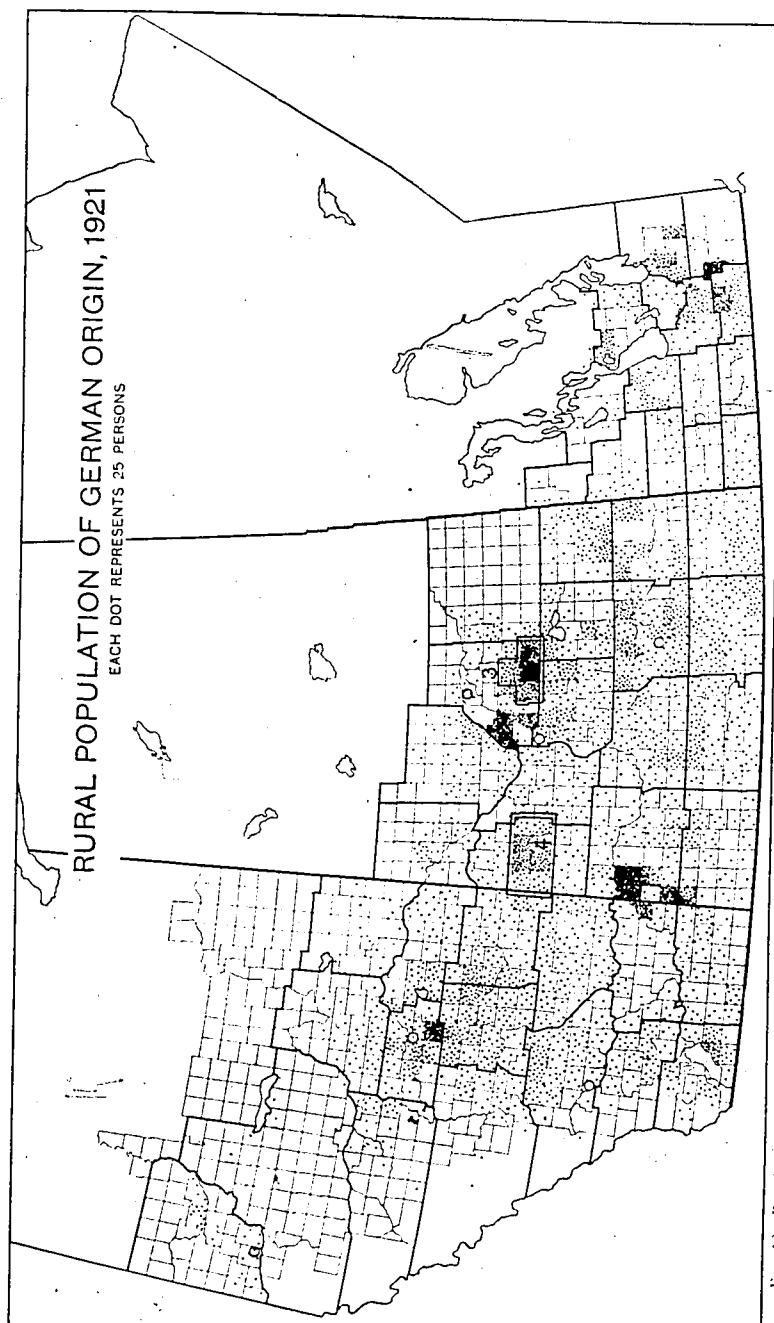


FIG. 43.—Rural population of German origin, 1921 (*Statistical Atlas*). 3, St. Peter's colony; 4, St. Joseph's colony. Among the racial groups in the Prairie Provinces the Germans ranked second only to the Anglo-Saxons in numerical strength. There are relatively few concentrations among members of the group.

the combined stimulation of these more general aspects of a given social situation that the minds and bodies of individual persons are set in motion. Thus, the offer of free land in Western Canada combined with certain factors in the home situation to make the people migrate to this pioneer region. The elements of dissatisfaction with conditions in their home communities varied from group to group. The Mennonites, the Doukhobors, and the Mormons, for example, were greatly distressed by religious crises in their homelands, yet in each case this dominant factor manifested itself somewhat differently. In the case of the Mennonites, it was the withdrawal of exemptions from military service; with the Doukhobors it was a religious schism within the sect; and the Mormons sought freedom from political persecution under the Edmunds law.⁴ The migration of the German Catholics of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies⁵ was animated by the possibility of obtaining cheap land as well as by the urge, which they shared with their church leaders, to change from a condition of scattered settlement in the United States to a homogeneous colony of their own kind in Saskatchewan. When old communities are broken up and their members mingle with the mass *en route* to the new land, the tendency to settle in communities of their own kind is almost irresistible. Of course such homogeneous settlements are not always feasible, at least not at the outset, as was indicated in the preceding paragraph. However, racial origins maps of the Prairie Provinces give specific indication of the urge to settle beside neighbours with the same ethnic backgrounds.⁶ To this general tendency is the added desire to maintain their folkways and beliefs. The Doukhobors and Mennonites, as many other sects, have attempted to keep intact their "way of life" by pushing far beyond the boundaries of existing communities. Yet these groups have not run counter to the main trend of settlement but are to be found at its spearhead. These observations hold true also for the German Catholic colonies of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's which have been selected for the purpose of this study.⁷

⁴ See Chapter X in this volume.

⁵ The term colony as used in this study has reference to a type of immigrant settlement; it does not signify any political control by the homeland.

⁶ *Agriculture, Climate, and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada, A Statistical Atlas Showing Past Development and Present Conditions*, Prepared under the direction of W. Burton Hurd and T. W. Grindley (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1931), pp. 88-96.

⁷ These are not the only homogeneous German colonies in the Prairie Provinces. They are, however, typical of German Catholic group settlement and reasonably representative of German blocs as a whole.

In certain other respects these German colonies must be differentiated from the Mennonites and Doukhobors. The Mennonite and the Doukhobor movements were those of homogeneous groups from *bloc* settlements to culturally homogeneous settlements on the prairies of Western Canada. The German Catholic movement, on the other hand, was mobilized from half the States of the Union as well as from various parts of Europe. Many had become adjusted, partially at least, to the modes of living in the United States regions in which they had settled temporarily. Others, however, came directly from European countries and brought with them their old-world culture. Yet these diverse groups had certain elements in common, in that all were of German extraction and all were Roman Catholics.

In their community structure also the German colonies differed from those cited above. While the community structure of the Mennonites and Doukhobors, transplanted more or less completely from their homeland, differed fundamentally from the Canadian pattern of distribution, that of the German Catholic colonies was from the start indistinguishable from the system of scattered farmsteads prevailing in Canada. A further differentiating factor is that practically all the original settlers of St. Peter's colony and a considerable proportion of those of St. Joseph's had spent periods varying from a few years to almost a lifetime in the United States and were thus quite familiar with the community structure and farm organization prevalent on this continent.

2. *Geographic Bases of the Two German Colonies*

The region towards which the German Catholics made their way lies somewhat to the north of the prairie country proper. St. Peter's colony, rectangular in shape, comprises 50 townships: townships 35 to 40, ranges 18 to 22, and townships 37 to 41, ranges 23 to 26, west of the second meridian (Figs. 48, 49). Its southwest corner is about 40 miles east of Saskatoon, while the southeast corner touches the northwest shore of Big Quill Lake; from thence the boundary of the German Catholic settlement runs north some twenty-five miles and then westerly to Lake Lenore, Basin Lake, and Wakaw Lake, which is a few miles north of the northwest corner.

St. Peter's colony lies in the black park soil belt⁸ between the open prairie region and the grey-soil country (Fig. 3). The

⁸ Classification used by Department of Soils, University of Saskatchewan.

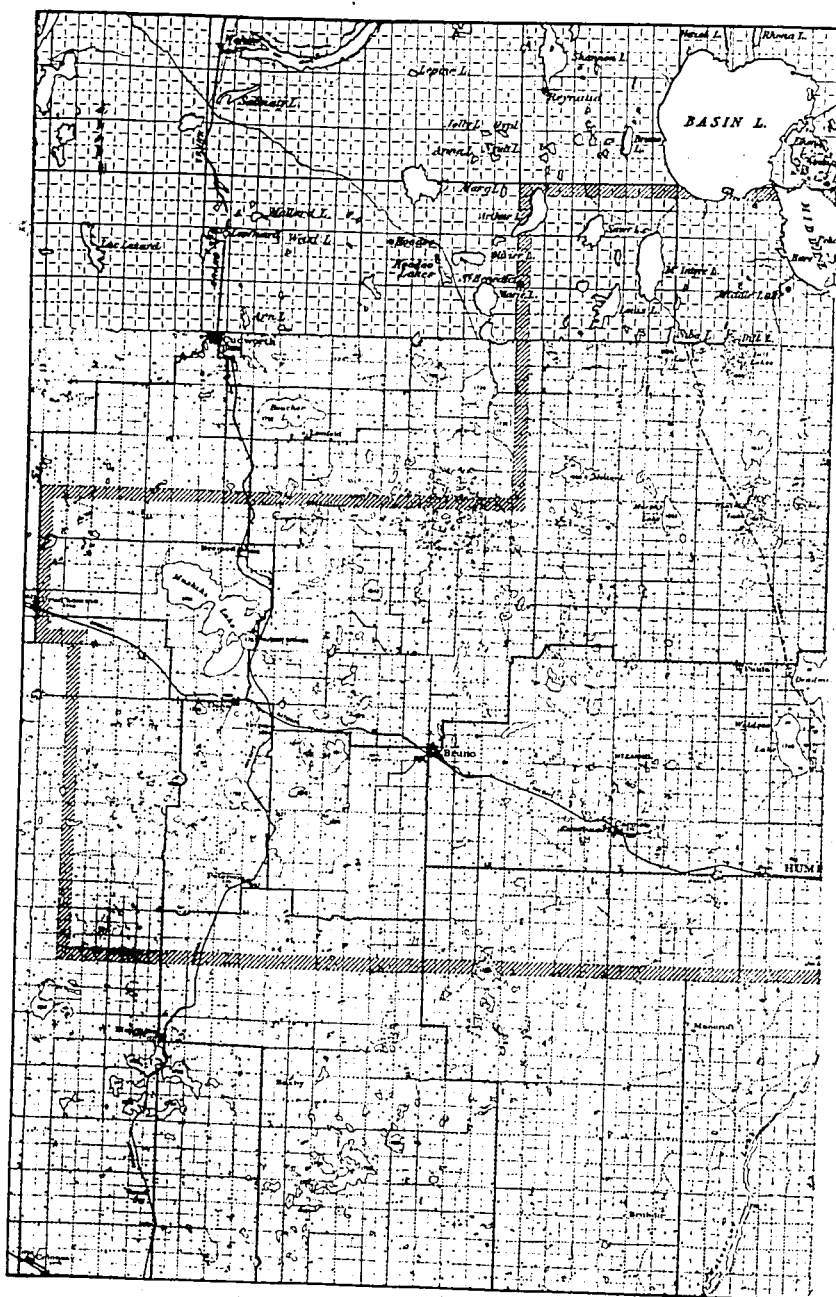


FIG. 49—St. Peter's colony, Saskatchewan, showing (stippled areas) lands occupied Townships 35-41, ranges 18-26,

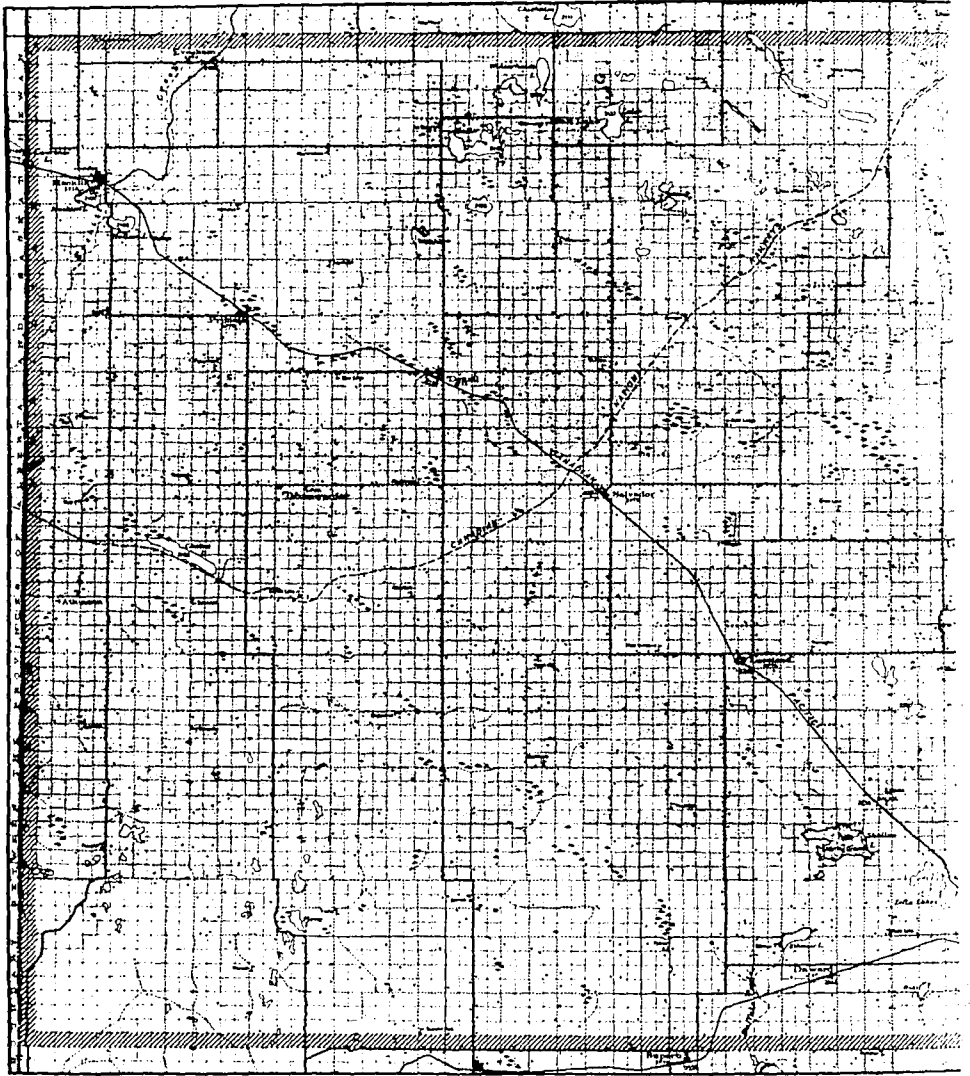
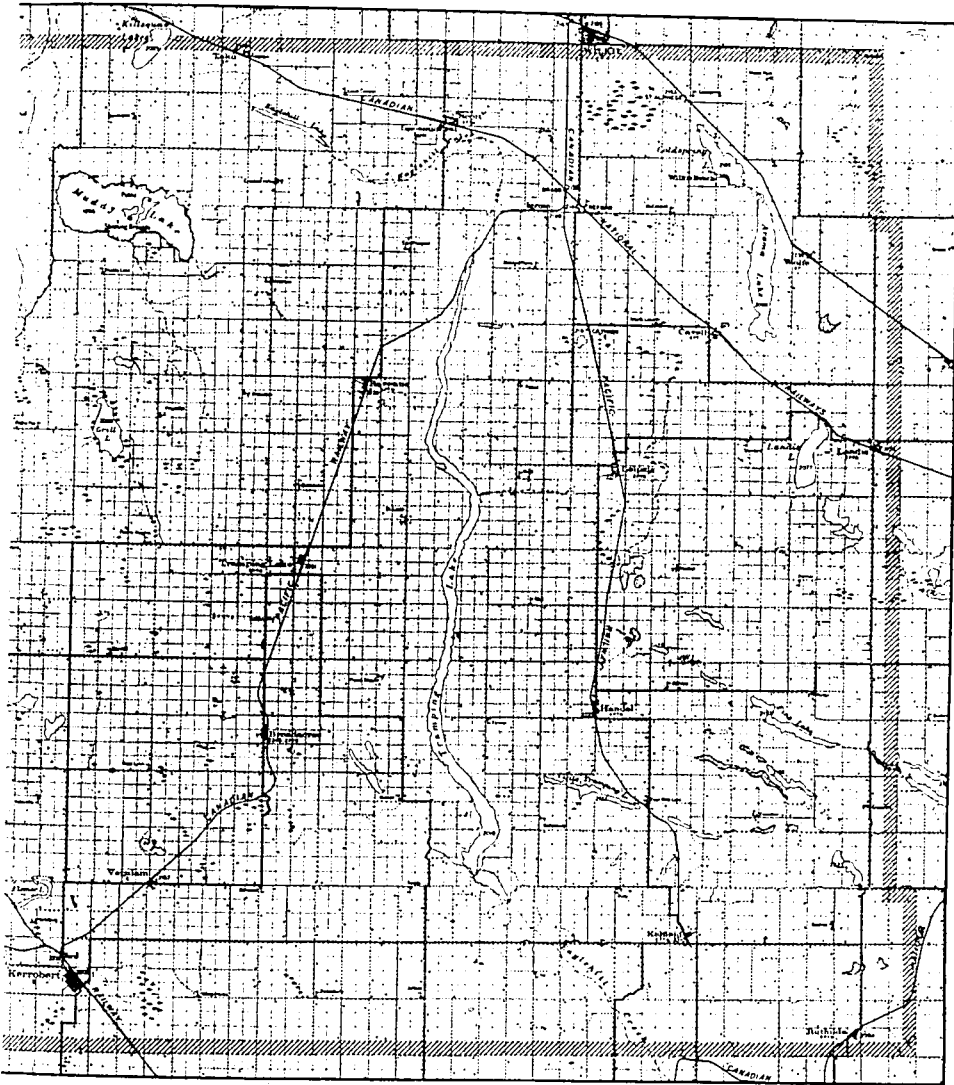


FIG. 50—St. Joseph's colony, Saskatchewan, showing (stippled areas) lands occupied by Germans, and (within ruled

surface of the district as a whole is somewhat rolling, though there are patches of level land. A few miles east of Bruno there is a township of rough land, settled by Ukrainians within the otherwise solid German colony. South and west of Humboldt, the metropolis of the colony, the soil is a light loam, with some patches of sand and



boundary) area used for statistical analysis. Location: Townships 34-39, ranges 18-28, west of the fourth meridian.

gravel. Further north the soil becomes heavier, ranging from a black parkland loam to a brown loam with a clay subsoil. In the district west of Lake Lenore there is some heavy clay land. Most of the soil is excellent in quality and well adapted to grain growing, though the northwestern part of the colony is more suitable to

mixed farming. Poplar and willow bluffs are scattered throughout the region.

St. Joseph's colony is situated in the Tramping Lake district, directly west of St. Peter's, and its eastern boundary lies some 70 miles west of Saskatoon (Figs. 48, 50). The Saskatchewan-Alberta line is the western boundary of the rectangular block (77 townships) including townships 37 to 38, range 18; townships 36 to 40, range 19; and townships 34 to 40, ranges 19 to 28 inclusive. Tramping Lake runs north and south through the heart of the colony and divides it into two natural areas.⁹

This district is a portion of the Prairie Plains region. Miles and miles of open country meet the eye, with never a tree to obstruct the view. Ninety per cent. of the land in the colony has the same general topographical features. The soil is for the most part a dark, chocolate-coloured clay loam. A line of coulées, three or four miles south of Broadacres, connects with Tramping Lake to form a natural boundary of the better agricultural land. The coulées also fix roughly the southern edge of German settlement. The northern boundary is similarly formed by a coulée extending from Killsquaw Lake to Tramping Lake and passing just south of Scott. The soil adjoining Tramping Lake is somewhat light, but further west it becomes heavier until, in Grass Lake Municipality (No. 381), there is little light land. The district as a whole thus fulfilled the requirements of the settlers, an excellent wheat country, easy to bring under cultivation.

3. *Main Factors in the Situation*

These areas which attracted German Catholics from the United States to Canada were at the spearhead of the continued migration westward and northward. Operative in the situation which produced the colonization movement itself were a number of factors. In Canada an energetic Minister of Immigration was conducting an aggressive settlement campaign. Railways, engaged in a programme of expansion, served as the right arm of the Department of Immigration. On the United States side of the line, steady agricultural expansion not only made it difficult to procure agricultural land cheaply, but also made it easy to dispose of holdings and move to the cheaper lands available in Canada.

In addition to these general forces, specific factors fixed the

⁹ *Bilder und Blätter zum Silbernen Jubiläum der St. Joseph's Kolonie* (Regina: 1930). This pamphlet gives a good description of the physical features, beginning of settlement, and development of churches.

attention of the widely scattered German Catholics of the United States upon the future St. Peter's colony. The settlers had two elements in common: the German language and the Roman Catholic religion. Prior to their migration to America many had been members of culturally homogeneous rural communities and they grew restless under conditions of scattered settlement in which they saw their traditions disintegrating rapidly. Thus the desire of German Catholics to reside in *bloc* settlements supplemented the economic motives for migration.¹⁰

The Catholic Settlement Society was formed to give force and direction to this urge. Mr. F. J. Lange, its president, at that time a high school teacher in St. Paul, Minn., writes:

Here was the point through which all the settlers seeking land in the great North-West passed and it struck me that no organization existed for recommending Catholic land-seekers to Catholic districts.¹¹

At about the same time the Benedictine Monks of St. John's College, Collegeville, Minn. became interested in Western Canada. They conceived the possibility of settling German Catholics in large closed colonies, similar to the one in their own diocese. At Cluny, Illinois, a small community of Benedictine Fathers was not happy in its location, and for some time its Prior had been seeking a more favourable field of activity.

Certain laymen saw their opportunities in directing the real-estate activities, and the possibility, if not necessity, of keeping these in German Catholic hands. For this purpose they organized the German American Land Company with Mr. Henry Haskamp as president. Thus a settlement society, an ecclesiastical order, and a land-company were all interested in a similar project, and realization of a common interest resulted in coördination of effort.

IV. Colonization

The organizations interested in German Catholic settlements combined their forces and sent a delegation of four from Stearn's County, Minnesota, to Western Canada for the purpose of selecting a suitable location for a Catholic colony. The party included three representatives of the German American Land Company and Father Bruno Doerfler of the Order of St. Benedict. After travelling extensively in what were then the Northwest Territories

¹⁰ *St. Peter's Colony: Souvenir of Silver Jubilee* (Muenster, Sask.: 1928).

¹¹ *St. Joseph's Kolonie*, p. 21.

they eventually reached the district east of Rosthern which had been recommended to them by immigration officials at Winnipeg. The arrival, on August 30, 1902, is described by Father Doerfler:

Suddenly we emerged from the hills and a beautiful panorama spread out before us. . . . Small groves of poplars were spread about the plain in profusion. Mr. Ens halted the horses, jumped up and throwing down his coat cried out enthusiastically that any man who did not think this is a splendid country would have to fight him. Needless to say, nobody accepted the challenge, for this was indeed a splendid location for a colony. We all agreed that nothing finer could be found, provided that the soil was of the right quality and provided that the district was large enough.¹²

This tour of inspection was followed by the completion of plan for immediate settlement. The German American Land Company entered into an agreement with the Dominion government whereby a block of land comprising 50 townships was set aside for the colony. The company agreed to bring 500 settlers per year for three years. During this period only those brought in by the company, or their associates, would be allowed to homestead within the limits of St. Peter's colony. It bought 108,000 acres of land from the North Saskatchewan Land Company at \$4.50 per acre, paying 50 cents per acre cash, the rest to be paid in instalments. This land comprised only part of the land in the colony, and only the odd-numbered sections. The even-numbered sections were reserved for homesteading.

The Catholic Settlement Society undertook the task of providing settlers by advertising extensively in the German papers of the United States and distributing numerous pamphlets among the German Catholics. The Society organized parties of prospective homesteaders and conducted them to the selected territory.

The Benedictines supplied the priests for the colony. Prior Alfred from the monastery at Cluny, Illinois, accepted the invitation to take charge of the work in Saskatchewan. He lost no time in making the necessary arrangements for transplanting his entire community of monks to the field of future activity.

The movement to St. Peter's colony was undertaken within a few months. On October 11, 1902, a group of 26 men arrived at Rosthern and, in the company of Father Bruno, selected their homesteads. By December, 1902, some thousand homesteads had been occupied.

The settlers came mainly from the Western States, but more

¹² Bruno Doerfler: "Through Western Canada", reprinted serially in the *Prairie Messenger* (Muenster: St. Peter's College), 1928.

particularly from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, and Kansas. Minnesota was the most heavily represented. They came through two main channels: by way of Rosthern into the western part of the colony, and by way of Yorkton into the eastern section. Many of them brought a full equipment of livestock, farm machinery, and household furniture. Practically all were German Catholics, as the ecclesiastical influence behind the movement was predominant. Many of them were American-born Germans whose fathers had settled in the United States between 1860 and 1880. Probably not more than 10 per cent. of the original settlers in St. Peter's colony came directly from Germany, and these came mostly in the years 1905 and 1906.

By 1906, all the free homestead lands had been taken. After that date the German American Land Company began to dispose of its holdings. In 1911, the company had only 20,000 acres unsold and these were disposed of to a new company. Most of the best land was taken up before the war. The colony did not expand outward, largely because settlement on its borders resisted invasion and because the lands available within have, until recently, proved sufficient to meet requirements.

To provide homesteads for later arrivals, Mr. F. J. Lange, president of the Catholic Settlement Society, had already explored the possibilities of a second settlement. He reports:

While I was directing the colonizing of St. Peter's colony I met many who were not satisfied with the land there because there was a lot of bush and scrub on it. This attitude I found particularly prevalent among the immigrants from southern Russia and those from the western parts of the United States. To satisfy these, and as the good homestead land in St. Peter's colony was already taken up, I decided to found a colony on the open prairie.¹³

In the same year the Catholic Colonization Society was formed at Rosthern with Mr. Lange as president, Mr. Bentz as secretary, and three Oblate priests on the executive.¹⁴ The Benedictines were no longer interested but secured the coöperation of the German Oblates. There was no parallel to the German American Land Company of the St. Peter's colony. Nor was a definite block of land reserved for the colonists.

The following spring the first settlers began to arrive. A party which left Saskatoon early in May was representative of the

¹³ *St. Joseph's Kolonie*, p. 21.

¹⁴ Mr. F. J. Lange, it will be remembered, had been president of the Catholic Settlement Society which was active in the settlement of St. Peter's colony. He is still active as an organizer of German Catholic settlements.

St. Joseph's colony-to-be. One member came from Germany, one from Austria, two brothers from Russia, and one from the United States.¹⁵

Two main trails were used by the settlers: one, the Swift Current-Battleford Trail, passing just east of Leipzig; the other, west from Saskatoon to Sounding Lake, crossing Tramping Lake at the present crossing between Handel and Tramping Lake villages.

The main body of German-American settlers came into the country during 1906 and 1907. Most of the district east of Tramping Lake and west to the present sites of Revenue and Tramping Lake was settled by them. They took up the odd-numbered sections, which consisted mainly of pre-emptions and Hudson's Bay Company land, and made this territory almost a solid German settlement.

Meanwhile another movement was under way. Extensive advertising in Russia and Austria-Hungary directed part of the exodus from these countries to the colony. The result was a large influx of Russian-Germans during 1908-1910 into the Tramping Lake-Macklin part of the colony. A few of these people had money; most of them, however, had none. Many of them worked at railway construction to obtain capital for the purchase of farm equipment; sometimes a group would engage one of its members to stay on the homestead and break land for all.

5. *Continuation of the Settlement Process*

St. Peter's colony soon developed into a thriving rural community. Since the area had been set aside as a reserve for German Catholics for a period of three years, it was occupied almost entirely by Germans. Such information as exists indicates that the migration to St. Peter's colony was largely a family movement. The earliest available census figures are those for 1906, which show that the excess of male population over female population was less in the townships more solidly occupied by Germans than in those at the fringe of the colony.

The census data for St. Peter's colony suggest definitely that in the first years the heads of families came out alone, and within a few years the families followed. Thus for 1906 the sex ratio is 191 males per 100 females, while five years later it had dropped to 151 males per 100 females. As previously mentioned, the territory at St. Joseph's colony was not reserved for German settlement, but

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

the practice of "proxy" homesteading and the intensive drive for colonization combined to keep the settlement almost wholly German. St. Joseph's colony had more heterogeneous German elements than St. Peter's colony. Many were immigrants who had spent a few years in the United States, while others came directly from European countries. In the parish of Leipzig, for example, the Catholic population was composed of Russian-Germans, Hungarian-Germans, and Germans directly from the homeland in almost equal proportions.¹⁶

The community structure which developed to coördinate and give direction to activities of these new settlers was very simple. A common background in language, religion, and other phases of culture facilitated informal social activities, the unity of effort in establishing themselves on the land, and in the setting up of basic institutional services. In all these matters they had marked advantages over the heterogeneous pioneer community. Coöperation in the ownership and use of farm machinery and in the carrying on of farm operations was not uncommon among these German Catholics.

Few of the settlers in the St. Peter's colony had any money when they first came. Some brought livestock and machinery with them, others purchased a minimum of household and farm equipment at the pioneer towns. Many of them worked out for the first year or two, leaving their wives to manage affairs at home. Sometimes four would work on the railway to support a fifth, who stayed at home and broke 15 or 20 acres for each of them, often with equipment owned by several persons. Beginnings by this method were slow, but nevertheless substantial. Already in 1904 some 20,000 to 25,000 acres were reported under cultivation in St. Peter's colony.¹⁷

Even with the advantages of social solidarity, the privations of pioneer life were not unknown to these settlers. Dwellings were constructed for the most part of poplar logs in St. Peter's colony and of sod in St. Joseph's, where logs were not so readily available. The floor was made of mud or possibly of boards, and the ceiling likewise. The original roof was often a framework of poplar rafters covered with grass, sod, and several coats of mud. The houses usually had two rooms; a kitchen and a bedroom, which

¹⁶ *St. Joseph's Kolonie*, p. 52.

¹⁷ Annual Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, Canada, 1904-5, *Sessional Papers of Canada*, 1905.

were partitioned by curtains. Furniture was often home-made and very simple. Life itself was severe enough. Change of diet was an unknown luxury:

The food served at meals was: cereal foods (*Mehlspeisen*) and milk for breakfast, milk and cereal foods for dinner, and cereal foods and milk for supper. Now and again, after the day's work the farmer took his shotgun from the wall and brought down a few rabbits or wild ducks. . . . If anyone took sick, recourse was had to household remedies such as herb teas, mustard plasters, sweat cures, etc. Medical services were of course not readily available.¹⁸

The formal community structure was very elementary before the coming of the railway. St. Peter's colony obtained its supplies mainly from Rosthern, and St. Joseph's from Battleford. Small local stores sprang up throughout the community to serve the needs of neighbours. Frequently these stores were near the church and the school. Store, church, school, and post office were often the nuclei of open-country trade centres which are still in existence in sections untouched by the railway.

In the development of this early community structure the church played a dominant role. As we have mentioned above, the Benedictine Order undertook the spiritual guidance of St. Peter's colony. This order has a long tradition in the development of pioneer areas; it builds slowly, but it builds well. In St. Peter's colony its work expanded rapidly. Already in 1903 at Leofield a church, a school, and a parish house had been erected and the parish organized. In the same year parishes were established at Muenster, Annaheim, and at Dead Moose Lake (now Marysburg). At these and other places services were held in private houses. Smaller sections of the community became mission stations. Within a year a college had been built, 10 parishes and missions had churches, and a number of schools had been erected. In St. Joseph's colony, affairs were under the jurisdiction of the Oblate Fathers. Here, too, the priests took the lead in community building.

Early education in both colonies was in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. The earliest schools in St. Peter's colony were parochial schools. A report relating to St. Joseph's mentions that in October of the first year the two missionaries were engaged in the daily instruction of 25 children in catechism, the English language, and other school subjects.

¹⁸ *St. Joseph's Kolonie*, pp. 38 and 39.

6. Isolation During the Early Years

The regional and social isolation of these German Catholic colonists was neither so marked nor so long continued as it was with the Doukhobors and the Mennonites. Northwest of St. Peter's colony, German Mennonite and Hungarian settlements were already in existence and other surrounding districts were being homesteaded. It will be remembered also that there were no topographical barriers to prevent the close approach of other settlers.

Naturally, there were barriers of language, religion, and modes of living which separated these Germans from those who lived just beyond their community borders. The former had that sense of social security and self-sufficiency which prevails among the membership of any closely-knit ethnic group. Yet the fact that the English language was taught at the outset in the church schools indicates that these groups were far more tolerant of the ways of their Canadian neighbours than were the Mennonites and the Doukhobors in their original communities. In this connection it must be remembered that these Germans as members of an historic church had learned to tolerate not only the religious practices of others but their secular interests as well. Then, too, there were many among them who had lived in United States communities and who were in close contact with their neighbours who had come from the United States. All this helped to prepare them for a more rapid readjustment to Canadian economic and social institutions which in a short space of time began to penetrate their "solid" communities.

CHAPTER XV

INVASION AND DISPLACEMENT

THE regional approach in an analysis of the readjustment of these colonies fixes the mind on those more tangible material changes and the movements of population which usually accompany the less visible social processes. Among these tangible elements the coming of the railway was of central importance. Along its right-of-way new trade centres soon developed commercial and professional services which in the earlier period had been located in the vicinity of the church. These railway towns also brought to the colonies new population elements which engaged in the business enterprises and assumed professional leadership. The recent economic and social changes may be traceable in large measure to the presence of these elements in the colony towns.

The first railway came through St. Peter's colony in the fall of 1904. The main line of the Canadian Northern Railway (now Canadian National Railways) passed through the colony from east to west, slightly south of its geographical centre. The course of the railway had already been surveyed when the settlers came, so that the community pattern was built with reference to it from the beginning. The commercial importance of Humboldt increased considerably when that town became a railway divisional point. The religious headquarters had already been established in 1903 at Muenster. Local centres sprang up at the usual intervals along the line. Away from the railway open-country villages remained under the dominance of the church.

Shortly before the war a branch line of the Grand Trunk Pacific (now also a part of the Canadian National Railways) from Young to Prince Albert skirted the eastern edge of the colony. About 1921, a Canadian National Railways line from Humboldt to Melfort penetrated the northeastern section of the colony, and the Lanigan-Melfort branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway passed just beyond the eastern fringe of German settlement. As recently as 1930 a Canadian Pacific line from Lanigan to Prince Albert passing through Humboldt in a northwesterly direction brought railway facilities to that portion of the colony west of Lake Lenore. In all

this construction a relocation of open-country centres on new townsites resulted, often bringing conflict.

In St. Joseph's colony the railway came later in settlement development, but its facilities were extended more rapidly. In 1908 the main line of the Grand Trunk Pacific came through Scott and Landis, and in the following year the main line of the Canadian Pacific passed through Macklin. Branch lines were built within a few years: the Macklin-Moose Jaw branch (C.P.R.) and the Wilkie-Kerrobert branch (C.P.R.) both in 1911, and the Wilkie-



FIG. 51—Hospital at Humboldt, Sask.

Kelfield branch (C.P.R.) in 1912. Since then the only construction has been a branch from Unity southwestward through Reward and Cosine in 1929. It may be noted that in St. Joseph's colony the more important lines form a triangle enclosing the bulk of German settlement and that none of them pass through the heart of the colony.

1. Evolution of the Trade Centre Pattern

In the new constellation of centres, those towns growing up along the railway soon asserted their leadership in community building. To these new centres came the storekeeper, the livery-man, the blacksmith, and the implement dealer. Later the station agent, the elevator man, the banker, the teacher, and in some cases the

doctor and the lawyer appeared. Their coming marked not only the end of regional isolation, but that of cultural isolation as well. For the commercial centre was the main medium through which Canadian commercial methods, professional services, and political practices entered the German Catholic communities. Soon, too, the provincial public school system came to displace the private school under sectarian supervision. Religions strange to the group were brought to the colonies and were practised side by side with that of the Germans.



FIG. 52.—Roman Catholic cathedral at Muenster, Sask.

In St. Peter's colony the distribution of trade centres was determined by the first trunk railway. Humboldt, as already mentioned, assumed leadership because of its function as railway divisional point. As early as 1905 Humboldt had a bank, a land titles office, and a creamery. In 1907 it was incorporated as a town, the Agricultural Society was formed, and a coöperative elevator and a coöperative store were built. These few indications point to Humboldt's role in the community as the centre of secular life.

Today Humboldt stands as the undisputed centre of dominance in the colony. It has a population of 1,899 persons and ranks fifth among the towns of Saskatchewan.¹ An imposing town hall, a new \$15,000 skating rink, 3 schools, 4 churches, a large

¹ There were 8 cities in Saskatchewan in 1931 with a population of 5,000 or more. *Census of Canada, 1931*, Bulletin No. XX (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics).

hospital, and a courthouse are the outstanding buildings in the community. Seventy-five business units draw trade within a radius of 20 miles. The flour mill has a capacity of 100 barrels a day and the creamery of 10,000 to 12,000 pounds of butter per week. Work on the railway normally provides employment for upwards of 100 men. Four ministers, 4 lawyers, 16 teachers, 34 nurses, 3 doctors, 2 dentists, and 2 bankers provide the town and the surrounding district with professional services. Numerous lodges, farmers' organizations, political organizations, sports clubs,



FIG. 53—The church village of Anaheim, St. Peter's colony.

and societies have their headquarters here. In short, Humboldt's secular influences have reached the far corners of the whole colony.

Muenster, 6 miles east of Humboldt, presents an example of the relative strength of religious and commercial interests in determining the community pattern. Muenster is the ecclesiastical centre of the colony. The large St. Peter's College and the imposing cathedral are situated just outside the small town. The Benedictine monks had built St. Peter's College in 1903, believing that Muenster would become the commercial as well as the religious centre, but Muenster never fulfilled their expectations. The bright lights of the commercial town outshone the candles of the cathedral centre.

Back from the railway, the local country church was frequently

the nucleus of an open-country centre. Usually such a centre consisted of a church, a school, a general store, and perhaps a blacksmith shop or some additional service unit. Community life was organized around the church. The school was originally operated by the ecclesiastical authorities. The greater part of community activities pertained to religious observances and church festivities.

With the coming of the railway to these outlying sections a relocation of centres was invariably necessary. Thus at Lake Lenore in 1904 a church stood half a mile north of the present site, and in 1906 the store and post office opened there. But the present town developed in 1919 when the railway entered. Some of the buildings in the old village were moved and new ones erected. In a comparatively short time all the commercial activities, the church, and the school were moved to the new town. At Fielda and Pilger the process of moving the old open-country centres to the new sites is in progress at the present time, following the construction of a railway line through those parts in 1930. Annaheim, 10 miles north of St. Gregor, affords an example of commercial centralization away from the railway. It has been a centre since the settlement of the surrounding country in 1903, but it has declined in recent years. Annaheim's flour mill and creamery were destroyed by fire in 1922. The coming of railways on either side of the town has caused its gradual disintegration. Today Annaheim has a population of only 25 persons, and all its functions except those of the general stores and the rural municipal office are related to religious organization.

Even the smaller centres on the railways play important parts in commercial growth and social change. Englefeld, St. Gregor, Carmel, and Bruno, are old, established centres along the main line. Daylesford, north of Lake Lenore, is on a branch line constructed some ten years ago. Daylesford is in an area where ethnic composition is heterogeneous and population is more mobile than elsewhere in the colony. Middle Lake is a new town on the latest railway line to be built into the district. Each railway point serves as a primary trade centre for the surrounding area. Figure 54 shows how well-defined these trade areas have become even in the newer districts.

The development of the trade centre structure in St. Joseph's colony shows the same trend of change from a church village to a commercial railway centre. It has already been mentioned that railway lines form roughly a triangle around the main German

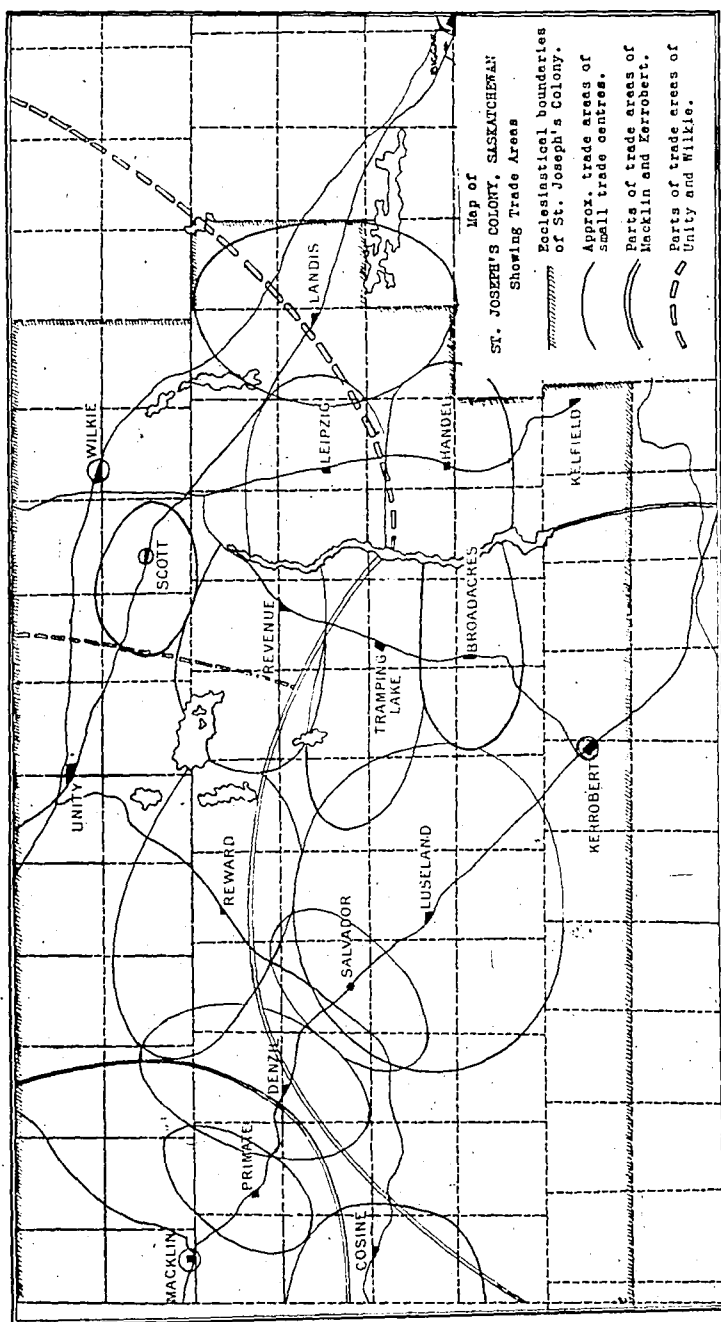


FIG. 54.—Map of St. Joseph's colony, Saskatchewan, showing trade areas.

Catholic settlement. The colony therefore has no dominant trade centre corresponding to Humboldt, and commercial interests are divided among Kerrobert in the south, Wilkie, Scott and Unity in the north, Biggar in the east, and Macklin in the west. All of these towns lie outside the colony proper, and none have a pre-dominance of German population.

2. Population Changes

The cycle of growth and change in the development of the present community structure is indicated by measurable trends in population growth, sex distribution, and changes in ethnic and religious composition. The data in Table XLIV give the rural population growth in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies.

TABLE XLIV—RURAL POPULATION GROWTH IN ST. PETER'S AND ST. JOSEPH'S COLONIES, SASKATCHEWAN*
(Compared with the Province of Saskatchewan)

YEAR	SASKATCHEWAN		ST. PETER'S COLONY†		ST. JOSEPH'S COLONY**	
	Number of Persons	Percentage Increase over Preceding Census	Number of Persons	Percentage Increase over Preceding Census	Number of Persons	Percentage Increase over Preceding Census
1906	257,763	....	3,397	....	1,486	....
1911	492,432	91.0	5,947	75.1	7,914	432.7
1916	647,835	31.6	6,786	14.1	10,585	33.8
1921	757,510	17.0	8,561	26.2	13,021	23.0
1926	820,738	8.3	9,713	13.5	14,320	10.0
1931	921,785	12.3	11,046	13.7	14,690	2.6

* *Census of Canada, 1911*, Vol. II, Table 7; *1921*, Vol. I, Table 16; *1931*, Bull. No. XX. *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1900*, Table 1; *1916*, Part I, Table 1; *1926*, Table 20.

† Includes the following rural municipalities in Saskatchewan: St. Peter (No. 369), Humboldt (No. 370), Bayne (No. 371), and Three Lakes (No. 400).

** Includes the following rural municipalities in Saskatchewan: Grandview (No. 349), Mariposa (No. 350), Progress (No. 351), Hearts Hill (No. 352), Reford (No. 379), Tramping Lake (No. 380), Grass Lake (No. 381), and Eye Hill (No. 382).

The trends in the two colonies are similar to that for the province of Saskatchewan. Heavy population increases occur during the initial settlement period when railways are pushing into new areas, and the available homestead lands are being occupied. This migration wave was spent in about 5 years, and population increases dropped considerably during the following census periods. After 10 or 15 years of settlement the rate of growth is such as might be

expected from natural increase. Varying local circumstances, such as the coming of more than one railway in a short time, or the types and amount of publicity used to attract settlers in each area probably account for the differences in population growth in given census years. Again, the slower rate of growth in St. Joseph's colony since 1921 as compared with that for St. Peter's is related to differences in land utilization, as will be pointed out in the third section of this chapter.

TABLE XLV—TRENDS IN THE RURAL SEX RATIO FOR ST. PETER'S AND ST. JOSEPH'S COLONIES, 1901-1931*
(Number of Males per Hundred Females)

YEAR	PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN	ST. PETER'S COLONY† (rural)	ST. JOSEPH'S COLONY** (rural)
1906.....	146	146	191
1911.....	145	124	151
1916.....	128	118	135
1921.....	120	118	124
1926.....	119	121	123
1931.....	119	124	121

* *Census of Canada, 1911*, Vol. II, Table 7; *1921*, Vol. I, Table 16; *1931*, Vol. II, Table 21; *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1906*, Introduction, Table V, and Table I; *1916*, Table I; *1926*, Table 20.

† Includes the following rural municipalities in Saskatchewan: St. Peter (No. 369), Humboldt (No. 370), Bayne (No. 371), and Three Lakes (No. 400).

** Includes the following rural municipalities in Saskatchewan: Grandview (No. 349), Mariposa (No. 350), Progress (No. 351), Hearts Hill (No. 352), Reford (No. 379), Tramping Lake (No. 380), Grass Lake (No. 381), and Eye Hill (No. 382).

Changes in the sex ratio for the two colonies are shown in Table XLV and the figures for the province as a whole are added for comparison. Here, too, the trends for the two colonies parallel that for Saskatchewan. The male surplus is greatest during the homestead period, but there is a marked decline, from 146 to 124 males per 100 females in St. Peter's, and from 191 to 151 for St. Joseph's over the 1906-1911 period when the extension of railways made it easier for women and children to join the heads of families. It may also be recalled that the familial type of migration was common, and that it was encouraged by the promoters of group settlement. The sex-ratio figures for St. Peter's colony, in particular, bear out the above statements.

Equally as important as sex-ratio changes is the trend in main

TABLE XLVI—PRINCIPAL ETHNIC ORIGINS OF ST. PETER'S AND ST. JOSEPH'S COLONIES, SASKATCHEWAN*

ETHNIC GROUPS	1911		1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER- CENT- AGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER- CENT- AGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER- CENT- AGE
a. St. Peter's Colony— Rural areas:†						
Total Population.....	...	.....	8,561	100.0	11,046	100.0
British.....	...	.....	901	10.5	957	8.7
German.....	...	.....	4,711	55.0	5,900	53.4
Others.....	...	.....	2,949	34.5	4,189	37.9
b. St. Peter's Colony— Urban areas:**						
Total Population.....	948	100.0	2,571	100.0	2,884	100.0
British.....	466	49.2	1,111	43.2	1,063	36.9
German.....	364	38.4	906	35.2	1,191	41.3
Others.....	118	12.4	554	21.6	630	21.8
c. St. Joseph's Colony— Rural areas:††						
Total Population.....	...	.....	13,021	100.0	14,690	100.0
British.....	...	.....	5,369	41.2	4,875	33.2
German.....	...	.....	3,639	28.0	7,152	48.7
Others.....	...	.....	4,013	30.8	2,663	18.1
d. St. Joseph's Colony— Urban areas:***						
Total Population.....	205	100.0	786	100.0	1,573	100.0
British.....	124	60.5	432	55.0	470	29.9
German.....	45	22.0	148	18.8	611	38.8
Others.....	36	17.5	206	26.2	492	31.3

* *Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. II, Table 7; 1921, Vol. I, Table 27; 1931, Bull. No. XXII.*

† Data given for rural areas include St. Peter (No. 369), Humboldt (No. 370), Bayne (No. 371), and Three Lakes (No. 400) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

** Data given for urban areas include Humboldt, Bruno, Englefeld, Lake Lenore, Muenster, and St. Gregory.

†† Data for rural areas include Grandview (No. 349), Mariposa (No. 350), Progress (No. 351), Hearts Hill (No. 352), Reford (No. 379), Tramping Lake (No. 380), Grass Lake (No. 381), and Eye Hill (No. 382) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

*** Data for urban areas include Denzil, Handel, Leipzig, Luseland, Primate, Revenue, Salvador, Tramping Lake. These towns and villages are all within St. Joseph's colony.

ethnic elements. Table XLVI gives the statistics on this point for certain rural municipalities only. While the line drawn around these does not coincide with the ecclesiastical boundaries of German settlement, their correspondence is sufficiently close for our purpose.²

The present distribution of Germans in rural sections is shown in Figures 49 and 50, which indicate the lands occupied by Germans. Both colonies show marked concentration at the centre with penetration at the edges. The non-German settlement east of Bruno in St. Peter's colony is an interesting example of an ethnic group within an ethnic group, for this block of poorer land is occupied by Ukrainians who settled there in 1909 and 1910.

Though the 4 rural municipalities used in Table XLVI for St. Peter's colony show a decrease of 1.6 per cent. in the proportion of Germans, 2 other municipalities partially within the colony show an increase of 9.2 per cent. over the period 1921-1931.³ The scatter of German farms at the fringes thus indicates that here the Germans are increasing their holdings. This is in evidence in the northwest and southeast areas. On the northeastern fringe, an area of considerable population change, the Germans are holding their own against the French from St. Brieux, and to the east near Beauchamp they are rapidly displacing the earlier French settlers.

In St. Joseph's colony expansion was due to the steady westward march of German settlement. The region east of Tramping Lake was occupied first, then that on the west side, and over a period of years those sections further west. Some of the land south of Macklin has been occupied by Germans during the past decade. In the southwestern municipality of the colony the number of rural Germans has increased from 315 to 1,584 while total population has increased only from 2,413 to 2,631 persons. Throughout the whole colony the number of Germans in rural sections has nearly doubled, now comprising 7,152 out of a total of 14,690 persons for the 8 municipalities included in our data. At Kerrobert, the boundary of German settlement has moved about three miles south of the original border. More important still, there has been a gradual infiltration of German Catholics on scattered farms in the adjoining districts. At Landis they are moving east, and at Scott they are spreading northward. The rural British proportion has decreased from 41.2 per cent. to 33.2 per cent., while the group

² See Figs. 49 and 50.

³ Rural Municipalities Nos. 339 and 401 show 23.0 per cent. Germans in 1921 and 32.2 per cent. in 1931. *Census of Canada, 1931*, Vol. I, Table 27; 1931, Bull. No. XXII.

"Others" has declined 12.7 per cent. over the period from 1921-1931 (see Table XLVI).

The rural sections of both colonies thus show a steady expansion of the Germans. Members of this group are buying up lands in the fringe areas and displacing other racial groups. That the Germans themselves are not being displaced is inferred from data obtained in 1932 from 16 farmers in St. Peter's colony. Fourteen of the

TABLE XLVII—PRINCIPAL ETHNIC ORIGINS IN HUMBOLDT AND OTHER URBAN CENTRES OF ST. PETER'S COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN*

ETHNIC GROUPS	1911		1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER-CENT-AGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER-CENT-AGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER-CENT-AGE
a. Humboldt:						
Total Population.....	859	100.0	1,822	100.0	1,899	100.0
British.....	460	53.6	1,002	55.0	923	48.6
German.....	287	33.4	391	21.5	513	27.0
Others.....	112	13.0	429	23.5	463	24.4
b. Other Urban:†						
Total Population.....	89**	100.0	749	100.0	985	100.0
British.....	6	6.7	109	14.6	140	14.2
German.....	77	86.5	515	68.7	678	68.8
Others.....	6	6.8	125	16.7	167	17.0

* *Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. II, Table 7; 1921, Vol. I, Table 27; 1931, Bull. No. XII.*

† Includes Bruno, Englefeld, Lake Lenore, Muenster, and St. Gregor.

** Includes Bruno and Muenster only.

men in this sample group had lived in the colony for more than 21 years and 8 of them still reside on their homesteads. The other "old-timers" included 2 who had sold their homesteads in order to buy the present farms and 4 who had lived in the area since childhood. The sample group also included 2 newcomers who live on the same farms they acquired upon moving into the district. These figures indicate relatively little mobility among the Germans after they acquire their first holdings. At Muenster it is said you can

count on the fingers of one hand the number of families who have moved.

In urban areas, such as incorporated towns and villages, the German element is also on the increase. The trend in St. Peter's colony is best seen by separating Humboldt from the other urban centres. Table XLVII shows a refinement of Table XLVI.

Humboldt and the other urban centres of St. Peter's colony show certain similarities in ethnic trends: (1) their populations have been predominantly British or German from the beginning; (2) people of other racial groups came in considerable numbers during the period of railway construction; (3) a greater stability of urban population is indicated by the slower ethnic changes since 1921, as compared with those for the previous decade. There are significant differences, however, between Humboldt and the smaller trade centres. The Germans are a minority in the larger town, but they form the majority of the population in the smaller centres. While the ethnic distribution for the smaller towns and villages has varied little since 1921, certain important changes are noted for Humboldt. Here the British showed a proportionate decline of 6.4 per cent., while the Germans and the group classified as "others" increased by 5.5. and 0.9 per cent.; respectively. Hence the Germans are not only retaining their dominant position in the smaller towns and villages, but they are increasing more rapidly than any other ethnic group in the colony's largest commercial centre.

The field survey made in Humboldt during the summer of 1932 showed that 18 of the 75 business units in the town were operated by Germans. Other German business and professional leaders included a doctor, a dentist, the rural municipal secretary, and the local agent of the German American Land Company. This information taken with the census data presented in Table XLVII suggests that the Germans are making a bid for the urban leadership of St. Peter's colony.

If we turn now to the urban figures for St. Joseph we find more evidence of German expansion. Data for 8 towns within the German colony (see Table XLVI, footnote) showed slight ethnic changes before 1921, but marked shifts occurred during the next decade. The British proportion dropped from 55.0 to 29.9 per cent., in spite of a small absolute increase. On the other hand, the number of Germans increased nearly five-fold, which corresponds to a rise from 18.8 to 38.8 per cent. of the total urban

population. The group classified as "others" more than doubled in number, but the proportionate increase was only 5.1 per cent. over the 1921 total. Analysis of individual towns showed that the German group is increasing, particularly in Leipzig, Luseland, and Tramping Lake. The recently incorporated village of Revenue, whose population totalled 119 in 1931, is almost entirely German. It is interesting to note, also, that in Salvador, a village of 208 people, both British and Germans have declined slightly, while a new Russian population of 50 has been added since 1921. This village is the centre of a small British settlement which is entirely surrounded by the larger German colony and it will probably not be able to resist either German or Russian invasion much longer.

It will be recalled that St. Joseph's colony has no large trade centre within its boundaries. Its villages and small towns are subsidiary to the towns of Macklin, Unity, and Wilkie on the north, and to Kerrobert on the south. These centres, whose populations vary between 500 and 1,200 people, had minorities of Germans in 1931, varying from 40 in Unity to 125 in Macklin.⁴ The proportionate increase for these towns was from 4.6 to 9.5 per cent. over the 1921-1931 period.

The above figures for the two German colonies indicate certain differences worth noting here. The urban trend of the Germans is much more marked in St. Joseph's than in St. Peter's colony. But they have always been in a proportionately stronger position in the latter area, and further urban expansion is therefore of greater significance in St. Peter's colony than is a similar trend for St. Joseph's.

An analysis of trends in religious distribution gives further indication of population trends in the two colonies. It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that Roman Catholic agencies had been active promoters of settlement, particularly in St. Peter's colony. Population selection was therefore naturally in favour of German Catholics rather than of German Protestants. The distribution of principal religious groups in Table XLVIII indicates just how far the aims of the leaders have been attained in this respect.

The strong position of the Roman Catholic church in St. Peter's colony is shown by the fact that over four-fifths of the rural population and more than one-half of the urban population belong to it. The trend in rural areas of St. Peter's colony since 1921 has been a proportionate decrease of 1.2 per cent. in the Roman Catholic

⁴ Figures based on data from *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. I, Table 27; 1931, Bull. No. XXII, Table 3.

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TABLE XLVIII—PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN ST. PETER'S AND ST. JOSEPH'S COLONIES, SASKATCHEWAN, 1911-1931*

RELIGIOUS GROUPS	1911		1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER-CENT-AGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER-CENT-AGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER-CENT-AGE
a. St. Peter's Colony—						
Rural areas:†						
Total Population.....	...	.....	8,561	100.0	11,046	100.0
Protestants.....	...	.....	1,387	16.2	1,905	17.2
Roman Catholics.....	...	.....	7,116	83.1	9,042	81.9
Others.....	...	.....	58	0.7	99	0.9
b. St. Peter's Colony—						
Urban areas:**						
Total Population.....	948	100.0	2,571	100.0	2,884	100.0
Protestants.....	487	51.4	1,163	45.2	1,095	38.0
Roman Catholics.....	430	45.3	1,309	50.9	1,746	60.5
Others.....	31	3.3	99	3.9	43	1.5
c. St. Joseph's Colony—						
Rural areas:††						
Total Population.....	...	.....	13,021	100.0	14,690	100.0
Protestants.....	...	.....	6,506	50.0	6,398	43.5
Roman Catholics.....	...	.....	6,310	48.4	8,195	55.8
Others.....	...	.....	205	1.6	97	0.7
d. St. Joseph's Colony—						
Urban areas:***						
Total Population.....	205	100.0	786	100.0	1,573	100.0
Protestants.....	153	74.6	453	57.6	724	46.0
Roman Catholics.....	35	17.1	291	37.0	805	51.2
Others.....	17	8.3	42	5.4	44	2.8

* *Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. II, Table 2; 1921, Vol. I, Table 38; 1931, Bull. No. XXI, Table 7.*

† Data given for rural areas include St. Peter (No. 369), Humboldt (No. 370), Bayne (No. 371), and Three Lakes (No. 400) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

** Data given for urban areas include Humboldt, Bruno, Englefeld, Lake Lenore, Muenster, and St. Gregor.

†† Data given for rural areas include Grandview (No. 349), Mariposa (No. 350), Progress (No. 351), Hearts Hill (No. 352), Reford (No. 379), Tramping Lake (No. 380), Grass Lake (No. 381), and Eye Hill (No. 382) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

*** Data included for Denzil, Handel, Leipzig, Luseland, Primate, Revenue, Salvador, and Tramping Lake. These towns and villages are all within St. Joseph's colony.

group, but in urban centres there was an increase of 9.6 per cent. over the last decade. About 6 to 7 per cent. of the population in St. Peter's colony are Lutherans, for the most part of German descent.⁵

Another difference, already referred to in a previous section, lies in the fact that St. Peter's has its own independent trade centre while St. Joseph's colony is dependent on the larger towns outside its boundaries. This results in the latter case in an increasing number of contacts between Germans and the people in non-German communities. The diffusion of culture from the outside is further accelerated by the fact that the Germans divide their patronage among several centres. In spite, therefore, of their increasing numerical strength, they are rapidly being assimilated to the larger Canadian community.

The religious distribution for St. Joseph's colony indicates that the Roman Catholics have no clear majority over other religious groups. The Protestant group comprised 50 per cent. of the rural population in 1921, and 57.6 per cent. of the urban population. But during the next decade the Protestant proportions dropped to 43.6 and 46.0 per cent. for rural and urban sections, respectively. The Roman Catholic group, on the other hand, increased from 48.5 to 55.8 per cent. in the rural districts, and from 37.0 to 51.2 per cent. in urban centres.

Furthermore, it is of interest to note that while the Roman Catholics in the two colonies are mostly Germans, the group is augmented by people of other racial backgrounds. This inference is drawn from a comparison of the German totals in Table XLVI with the Roman Catholic totals in Table XLVIII. In rural areas of St. Peter's colony, for example, the Germans totalled 5,900 persons in 1931, while the Roman Catholics for the same area totalled 9,042. Or, stated in another way, the Germans formed 53.4 per cent. of the rural population while the Roman Catholics comprised 81.9 per cent. Similarly, for St. Joseph's colony, the Germans in rural parts totalled 7,152 or 48.7 per cent. of the population, while Roman Catholics numbered 8,195 or 55.8 per cent. of the total population. Figures for the urban areas in both colonies also show that even if all Germans were Roman Catholics, they would not account for the whole of this religious group. Hence it may fairly be assumed that the Roman Catholic Church draws

⁵ A small number of Scandinavians are also included in this group.

members from the British population as well as from the group classified "Others," which includes Russians, Ukrainians, and Poles.

The preceding analysis of population growth and change shows clearly that the German Catholic settlers have not only retained their original agricultural area almost intact, but are expanding this base, and displacing other racial elements along its borders. The commercial towns, however, have been points of invasion by other groups, chiefly those of British extraction (see Table XLVI). This English-speaking group includes people in business or professional pursuits and Germans have become their rivals in these occupations only in a minor way. The penetration of culture from the outside world has been effected mainly through urban centres. Cultural influences and the part the British have played in bringing them to the German colonies will be analysed in the next chapter.

Population increase combined with changes in community structure to clear the way for greater agricultural production, Canadian farm practices, and Canadian standards of living.

3. *Trends in Agricultural Expansion*

Agricultural development in St. Peter's and St. Joseph's colonies has followed the same general trend as population expansion. Differences in the agricultural base of the two colonies, however, have meant that St. Peter's colony, despite its earlier settlement, and despite the previous experience of the settlers in an American setting, proved less adaptable to large-scale farming than St. Joseph's colony. What has taken place in these respects is indicated statistically in Table XLIX.

Table XLIX indicates that, after the initial period of homesteading, expansion has taken place not so much by increasing the number of farms as by increasing the acreage per farm. In St. Peter's the homestead period was fairly well over by 1906 and the next five years saw a filling-in process, as indicated by a rural population increase of 75.1 per cent. between 1906 and 1911 and only 14.1 per cent. between 1911 and 1916 (see Table XLIV). In St. Joseph's colony, on the other hand, settlement had only begun in 1906. Here the homestead period lasted until after 1912 and the occupation of non-homestead lands up to 1916. The acreage of field crops per farm is the only information available as early as 1906. At that date it was 24 acres for St. Peter's and 15 acres for St. Joseph's. By 1916, it had increased to 88 acres and 150 acres respectively; already the field crop acreage

per farm in St. Peter's colony was only 59 per cent. of that in St. Joseph's, a proportion which remained unchanged a decade later. Though the field crop acreage per farm for the two colonies stood at the same ratio for these two census periods, the increase in the average size of farms and in the improved acreage per farm went on at different rates in the two colonies. The increase in the size of farms was relatively greater in St. Peter's, while the increase in

TABLE XLIX—SIZE OF FARMS AND LAND UTILIZATION IN ST. PETER'S AND ST. JOSEPH'S COLONIES, SASKATCHEWAN, 1906-1926*

YEAR	TOTAL FARMS (no.)	AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM (acres)	IMPROVED ACREAGE PER FARM	AVERAGE FIELD CROP ACREAGE	WHEAT		OTHER CROPS	
					Average Acreage	Per cent.	Average Acreage	Per cent.
St. Peter's Colony:†								
1906.....	934	**	**	24	**	**	**	**
1916.....	1,370	260	108	88	45	51	43	49
1921.....	1,747	314	131	104	58	56	46	44
1926.....	1,656	358	172	134	92	69	42	31
St. Joseph's Colony:††								
1906.....	153	**	**	15	**	**	**	**
1916.....	2,422	340	203	150	105	70	45	30
1921.....	2,739	403	256	189	137	73	52	27
1926.....	2,817	426	312	227	180	79	47	21

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1906*, Table 27; *1916*, Part II, Table 25; *1926*, Tables 97 and 98. *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. V, Tables 81 and 82.

† Rural areas include: St. Peter (No. 369), Humboldt (No. 370), Bayne (No. 371), and Three Lakes (No. 400) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

** No data available.

†† Rural areas include: Grandview (No. 349), Mariposa (No. 350), Progress (No. 351), Hearts Hill (No. 352), Reford (No. 379), Tramping Lake (No. 380), Grass Lake (No. 381), and Eye-Hill (No. 382) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

percentage of improved acreage per farm was greater in St. Joseph's. Thus in St. Peter's the average size of farms increased from 260 acres in 1916 to 358 acres in 1926, or 38 per cent., while in St. Joseph's the average of 340 acres increased to 426 acres, or only 25 per cent. On the other hand, the 42 per cent. of improved acreage per farm increased to only 48 per cent. in St. Peter's, while 60 per cent. in 1916 increased to 73 per cent. in 1926 in St. Joseph's colony.



FIG. 55—Farmstead owned by an old-timer near Englefeld, St. Peter's colony.

It is further noted that these increases took place without a corresponding increase in the number of farms. This is particularly pronounced in the 5-year period 1921-1926 where increases in field crop acreages of 29 per cent. and 20 per cent. correspond to an actual decrease of 75 per cent. in the number of farms in St. Peter's and an increase of 3 per cent. in St. Joseph's.⁶ The trend

⁶ The percentages referred to in the above paragraphs are calculated from Table XLIX.



FIG. 56—Farmstead east of Tramping Lake.

towards greater land utilization is in both cases unmistakable. Differences between the colonies in the average size of farm, percentage of improved acreage per farm, and in the acreage of field crops per farm all point to a difference in the type of farming. St. Peter's colony, it will be remembered, lies in the Park Belt, while St. Joseph's is in the Prairie Plains. Hence St. Peter's is more devoted to mixed farming, while St. Joseph's is almost exclusively a wheat-growing area. In both, wheat and oats are the major crops; and in both the percentage of field crop acreage



FIG. 57.—Farmstead near Tramping Lake. Note the mud-plastered walls of the house.

devoted to wheat has steadily increased. The 69 per cent. of St. Peter's is, however, lower than the 79 per cent. of St. Joseph's. This, together with the lower percentage of improved farm acreage, denotes a greater degree of diversification in St. Peter's colony.

Data on the size of farms for 1926 show the same variation as those above. In St. Peter's colony, out of the total of 1,656 farms, 31 per cent. were 160 acres or less (see Appendix, Table VI), while in St. Joseph's, out of 2,817 farms only 19 per cent. were quarter-section farms. The percentages of half-section farms were 34 per cent. and 37 per cent., respectively; those of three-quarter sections 18 per cent. and 20 per cent.; and those of over 480 acres 13 per cent. and 25 per cent., respectively.⁷ Smaller holdings predominate in

⁷ *Census of Saskatchewan, 1926*, Table 95.

St. Peter's, while large-scale farming is the rule in St. Joseph's. Farm tenure as in 1926 shows 73 per cent. owners, 7 per cent. tenants, and 20 per cent. part owners and part tenants in St. Peter's colony compared to 61, 17, and 22 per cent., respectively, in St. Joseph's (see Appendix, Table VI). The higher percentage of ownership in St. Peter's colony is what we would expect. The smaller the holdings, the greater the degree of ownership, and, what is perhaps more significant, the more diversified the type of farm economy.



FIG. 58—Abandoned farm west of Tramping Lake.

The net result of the changes which have gone on in agriculture since the beginning of the colonies is that the pioneer homestead farm has been displaced. The initial stage when rural population increased faster than field-crop acreage per farm has been reversed, as larger-scale operations have been made possible by greater mechanization and by the consolidation of quarter-section farms into larger units. Tenancy has become established and is on the increase; wheat production has increased proportionately and, until 1926 at least, had supplanted livestock raising. Though the census data for 1931 have not yet been released, the field surveys indicate that the trend towards wheat farming has been checked. In St. Peter's colony there has been a considerable return to mixed farming, more so than in St. Joseph's where changes from the

one-crop system cannot so readily be made. But it is too early to say to what extent such practices are the direct result of adverse conditions of the wheat-growing industry or to what extent they indicate permanent trends towards a more diversified agriculture.

Through a series of invasions—sheer population growth, the penetration of the commercial village, increased mechanization—the original homesteads have been transformed into up-to-date Canadian farms. The self-sufficiency of pioneer days has given way to production for a market. Agriculturally the colonies have become integral parts of the Canadian economic system.

4. *Present Agricultural Economy in St. Peter's Colony*

The present position of this farm economy in one of these settlements at least can be indicated by an analysis of 13 farm schedules collected from as many German farmers in St. Peter's colony during the summer of 1932. Of the 13 German farms, 1 was a quarter section, 6 were half sections, 2 were three-quarter sections, 1 comprised 800 acres (5 quarter sections) and 3 were 960 acres and over. Ownership, calculated on the basis of land operated, included 89 per cent. of the farms.

One year's revenue and expenditure per farm for this group are compared in Table L with those of an Anglo-Saxon group in the Davidson-Craik district, south of Saskatoon. The average income of the German group is \$1,814 as compared with \$2,252 for the Davidson-Craik sample, and the sources of that income show a considerable variation between the two samples. In the German group, 82.1 per cent. of the total income is derived from farm receipts, while in the Davidson-Craik sample farm receipts formed only 52.8 per cent. of the total income. Income from sources outside the farm form similar proportions for the two groups, i.e., 7.1 per cent. for the Germans and 5.7 per cent. for the Anglo-Saxon group. Moreover, the proportions for increased operating indebtedness during the period studied were almost identical, 8.7 per cent. for the Germans, and 8.8 per cent. for the Davidson-Craik group. The figures for reduction in inventories differ widely, however. This latter item accounts for only 2.1 per cent. of the year's receipts in the German group but it comprises 32.7 per cent. of the cash resources of the Anglo-Saxon group. The data for Davidson-Craik were taken one year earlier than those for the German sample, when the former had suffered two successive crop failures and at the time of enumeration in 1931 faced the third. St. Peter's

colony, on the other hand, is only partially included in the one-crop-failure areas.⁸ This factor alone would account for the variations above. Thus no significant statement can be made on the income side as to the relative efficiency of farm productivity or variations in farming practices.

TABLE L—MAIN INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ITEMS OF SASKATCHEWAN FARM FAMILIES*

(Sample: 13 German Families from St. Peter's Colony and
134 Davidson-Craik Families)

	ST. PETER'S COLONY		DAVIDSON-CRAIK	
Number of families.....	13		134	
Average number of adult units†.....	4.6		3.5	
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ITEMS	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.
a. Total Income.....	1,814	100.0	2,252	100.0
Farm receipts.....	1,489	82.1	1,188	52.8
Other receipts.....	128	7.1	130	5.7
Increase in operating debts**.....	158	8.7	198	8.8
Reduction in inventory.....	39	2.1	736	32.7
b. Total Expenditure.....	1,789	100.0	2,294	100.0
Farm expense.....	744	41.6	1,263	55.1
Cash family living.....	630	35.2	729	31.8
Investment expenditure.....	203	11.4	30	1.3
Interest.....	212	11.8	272	11.8

* Data from surveys made by the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee: 1931 survey in Davidson-Craik; 1932 survey in St. Peter's colony.

† Adult unit is a device used to reduce family expenditures to a comparable basis. It is assumed here that two children under 17 years of age are equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs.

** Increased operating indebtedness, such as unpaid taxes, unpaid interest for current year, and bills owed for groceries and health, etc., are included here under income for the sake of balancing this item with total expenditure.

Differences between the practices of racial groups are more likely to appear in the apportionment of total expenditure. The main features in our data are, however, not the differences but the similarities. Farm expense forms 41.6 per cent. of the total

⁸ The basis for this statement is drawn from a map showing drought areas in 1929, 1930, 1931, as supplied by the Department of Agriculture, Province of Saskatchewan.

expenditure in the German group and 55.1 per cent. in the Anglo-Saxon group. This variation, considered in conjunction with investment expenditure of 11.4 per cent. and 1.3 per cent., respectively, might quite easily be due to variations between given years. Both items are related directly to the yearly crop prospects in the farming districts of the Prairie Provinces. Cash family living does not vary widely between the two groups. Interest, which indicates the extent of indebtedness, forms the same proportion, 11.8 per cent., of total expenditure in each case. In the proportionate allocation of total farm expenditure, the German group is not very different from the Davidson-Craik group. But in dollar terms the figures for the Davidson-Craik sample are higher than those for the Germans with the one exception of investment expenditure. Somewhat similar conclusions may be drawn from Appendix Table VII which shows the average value of farm property for the two groups. Total investment averages \$18,460 per farm for the Germans and \$24,463 per farm for the Davidson-Craik group. The difference is accounted for by larger investments in land, buildings, and machinery for the Davidson-Craik farms than for those from St. Peter's colony. The proportionate allotment is similar for the two groups, except in the case of land which forms 70 per cent. of total property on Davidson-Craik farms but only 65.7 per cent. of the total on the farms in St. Peter's colony. This last difference is closely related to size of farm and form of land tenure. The amount of occupied land per farm averages 741 acres for the Davidson-Craik group as over against 551 acres per farm for the German sample. But the owned acreage for the former averages only 441 acres per farm as compared with 514 acres per farm for the latter group. Allowing for difference in average size it appears that farms in St. Peter's colony are as well equipped as those in the Davidson-Craik area. Greater permanency of settlement, moreover, is indicated for the German than for the Anglo-Saxon group. It remains to be seen how the two groups compare in family living expenditure practices.

5. *Family Living Practices*

Practices of family living expenditure give us some indication of differences in modes of living as between these two groups. Table I.I sets out the details of family living expenditures per farm. The most striking feature is the greater proportion that farm contributions form in the German group. Comparative figures of

44.9 per cent. and 36.2 per cent. for the German and Anglo-Saxon families; respectively, indicate at once that the Germans are less dependent upon cash living items than are their Anglo-Saxon colleagues.

A more detailed examination of the data shows where the variations are greatest. Cash expenditure for food requires 16.2 per cent. of the German budget but 21.2 per cent. of that for the Anglo-Saxon families. Farm contributions in the form of livestock and other farm produce, such as dairy products, and vegetables are 25.1 per cent. and 20.0 per cent., respectively. The total food proportions of the family budget thus stand at 41.2 per cent. for both the German and the Anglo-Saxon families. It has been pointed out, however, that the German group derives a relatively greater proportion of this from the farm. The proportions allotted for rent are 19.8 per cent. for the Germans and 16.2 per cent. for the Anglo-Saxon group. Clothing forms another large item of total family living. The German figures are \$227 per family, or 19.9 per cent. of total living, or about twice as great as the corresponding figures for the Anglo-Saxon families. It should be kept in mind here that the size of family is a complicating factor. The German families average 4.6 adult units⁹ as compared with 3.5 adult units in the Anglo-Saxon group. But even if allowance is made for this difference it seems clear that the German families do not lag behind the Anglo-Saxon families in expenditures for food, clothing, and house accommodation.

Household operation comprises 3.2 per cent. in St. Peter's colony, while the Davidson-Craik sample averages 13.8 per cent. of total living for such expenditure. Presence of local fuel supply in St. Peter's colony, and scarcity of wood in the Davidson-Craik district accounts for a part of this difference. Moreover, a portion of the lower household operating costs of the German group may possibly be due to more economical practices of the German housewife, as compared with those of the Anglo-Saxon woman.

The automobile costs form a small proportion in both groups, though it is greater in St. Peter's.

The item which usually assumes a greater share of the Anglo-Saxon budget than of that for New-Canadian groups is expenditure

⁹ Adult unit is a device used to reduce family expenditures to a comparable basis. A person 17 years and over who resided in the farm home during the whole survey year counts as one adult unit. Two children under 17 years of age are assumed to be equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs. Hired help or boarders are not included with the family.

for advancement goods.¹⁰ The Germans spend \$92 per family, or 8.0 per cent. of total living on these items, while the corresponding figures for the Anglo-Saxon families are \$123, or 10.8 per cent. While church contributions form over one-half of the item in the

TABLE LI—TOTAL LIVING EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY*
(Sample: 13 German Families from St. Peter's Colony and
134 Davidson-Craik Families)

	ST. PETER'S COLONY		DAVIDSON-CRAIK	
Number of families.....	13		134	
Average number of adult units†.....	4.6		5.5	
ITEMS OF FAMILY LIVING	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.
a. Total Family Living.....	1,144	100.0	1,143	100.0
Cash living.....	630	55.0	729	63.8
Farm contributions.....	514	44.9	414	36.2
b. Analysis of Cash Living for Six Main Items:				
Food.....	185	16.2	242	21.2
Clothing.....	227	19.9	111	9.7
Household operation.....	37	3.2	158	13.8
Automobile.....	34	3.0	30	2.6
Advancement goods.....	92	8.0	123	10.8
Health.....	55	4.8	65	5.7
c. Analysis of Farm Contributions for Three Main Items:				
Rent (10 per cent. of value of house).....	227	19.8	185	16.2
Livestock.....	86	7.5	229	20.0
Other farm produce.....	201	17.6		

* Data from surveys made by the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee: 1931 survey in Davidson-Craik; 1932 survey in St. Peter's colony.

† Adult unit is a device used to reduce family expenditure to a comparable basis. It is assumed here that two children under 17 years of age are equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs.

German group, expenditures for education and recreation are substantial. Here is a variation between the two groups which is probably related to differences in participation in community affairs.

¹⁰ This includes expenditures for education, religion, recreation, and personal items.

Health expenditures of the German families are slightly lower than those of the Anglo-Saxon group. In the words of a local doctor:

The Germans are considerably below the Anglo-Saxon level in their attitude towards medicine. Midwives are usually called in for maternity cases. . . . the use of patent medicines is common.¹¹

A smaller expenditure; it must be borne in mind, does not indicate a disregard for health; it may mean no more than that traditions respecting hygienic practices differentiate the German group from the Anglo-Saxon. Such differences as still exist will likely disappear in the course of time.

The above analysis shows that, while the total proportion of family living allotted to food is practically the same in both groups, the portion of cash expenditure for this item is less in the German than in the Anglo-Saxon group. The German families spend relatively more for clothing, rent, and automobile upkeep than do the Anglo-Saxon. But the opposite relationship holds for advancement goods and household operation. On the whole the evidence suggests that the German families have become adjusted to Canadian modes of living.

¹¹ Field notes.

CHAPTER XVI

SECULAR TRENDS IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE entry of the railway was the beginning of a series of changes which made the commercial towns, rather than the church villages the central points in economic and social organization. Indeed many of the churches themselves were relocated in these new towns, where independent secular institutions were securing an increasing share of popular attention. This shift of attention signified that Canadian secular social organization was displacing the German social form associated with the church. It seems apparent that the church will in turn dissociate itself completely from its German appendages and become reconciled to that division of function with secular institutions so characteristic of English-speaking communities. These trends in the readjustment of religious and secular institutions will be traced with particular reference to St. Peter's colony.

1. Resistance of the Church to the Extension of Secular Interests

The church was very active in organizing the movement to St. Peter's colony and has continued to guide the colony through the series of readjustments which followed. It has endeavoured to keep alive the German language and traditions as aids in resisting the secular invasions from outside the colony.

In its struggle to preserve German cultural unity, the church has not been unwilling to make the necessary readjustments. This is evidenced in the relocation of churches to fit the new community pattern. At times, these parish changes have been accompanied by conflict. In one case the congregation split into two factions, in others the population shifted when the railway came and disorganized the earlier open country congregations. In St. Joseph's colony the struggle was intense in many cases, while in St. Peter's the conflict was apparently not so great, for the main line of the railway arrived before many permanent structures had been built. In neither colony has this type of readjustment been completed.

The church has extended its social programme to keep the people as closely under its supervision as possible. It is still able to

influence education and it is the preserver of what is left of the German language. It even sets a wholesome example in farming practice through the college farm at Muenster and gives encouragement to the community progress competition. Indirectly the church is responsible for the political faith of its members. More directly it has organized Sunday picnics and other social activities and has sought to determine the attitudes of the faithful in regard to these matters. The annual celebration at the cathedral in Muenster is attended from far and near; the Abbot's jubilee



FIG. 59—Shrine near Carmel, St. Peter's colony.

in commemoration of his twenty-five years of service was an event which will be long remembered; the shrine at Mount Carmel provides the occasion for a large annual pilgrimage from all parts of the colony, besides numerous less elaborate festivities. Smaller community gatherings are held throughout the summer. The church expected that such social and religious festivities would satisfy the wishes of the young as well as the old, but in respect to the former these hopes have not been realized in full as the following instances show. Barn dances in particular, have aroused the opposition of the church.

Dancing is all right, but we tell our people they must not go to dances of that sort if they are to do their duty as Christians; they know the groups which sponsor those affairs and must avoid them.¹

¹ Field notes.

Though the injunction against barn dances has been observed in general, church control has not been so authoritative in regard to certain other activities. In one case the local priest forbade girls playing softball in knickers, but they defied him and played their games on the town playing-field. The injunctions against barn dances and knickers were made on moral grounds but underlying this contention were attitudes antagonistic to the penetration of the secular social activities of English-speaking communities.



FIG. 60—Roman Catholic church at Humboldt.



FIG. 61—Old and new public schools at Humboldt, Sask.

In so far as this Canadian penetration has succeeded in Anglicizing the activities of young people the church has been shorn of its racial objectives. Thus in Humboldt, where the Catholics are not all Germans, there is no attempt to preserve the German language; they can remain true Catholics without it. On the eastern fringe, where an interpenetration of Germans and French has taken place, the church would like to see a breakdown of the language barrier. But the bonds of a common religion have not been strong enough to transcend wider cultural differences and there has been trouble between the German and French Catholic elements. A French

priest serving a church in St. Peter's colony was superseded by a German in 1926. The result was that the French attendance dropped off and many neglected to pay church dues. While the church has resisted the detachment of religious and racial objectives in its struggle against the extension of secular interests in the colonies, it is gradually making its peace with those who have established themselves therein.

2. *Secularization of Education*

The speed with which the provincial educational system has been imposed upon aliens has been determined often by popular opinion based on little knowledge of the readjustments to be made by the aliens. In consequence, conflicts have been the rule more often than not where the hands of educational authorities have been forced.

Missionaries were the first teachers in St. Peter's colony where ecclesiastical influence in education has remained strong from the beginning; in St. Joseph's colony, there are indications of its revival within recent years. In both colonies there have been conflicts with secular authorities. The settlers had been accustomed to private schools in the United States where instruction was half in German and half in English. It will be remembered that from the first instruction in the English language was included in the German Catholic school curriculum in Canada. The transition to a system of all-English instruction therefore did not involve such a drastic change.

The building of schools did not take place as early as that of churches, for frequently the church building was used as a school for the first few years. Urban schools were the first to be constructed. In St. Peter's 7 such schools were built before 1907, and 2 during the next five years. In St. Joseph's 4 were built between 1907 and 1911, 5 between 1912 and 1916, and 2 during the next decade. Rural school construction in both colonies was concentrated between the years 1907-1921. The modern schools were well built, and often rivalled the Catholic churches as community buildings. Out of 11 of the St. Joseph's urban schools visited, 6 were valued at \$20,000 or more. Rural schools were the typical frame buildings ranging in value from \$1,500 to \$7,500. In St. Peter's colony the median is \$2,000 and in St. Joseph's it is \$4,000.

Practically all of the colony schools have become part of the public school system. In St. Peter's colony one after another of

the parochial schools have become identified with the provincial system until only those at Muenster and Marysburg are left. In St. Joseph's the first urban schools were financed from public funds. Rural schools were either public from the beginning or have become so by now. Everywhere instruction is in the English language and the course of study is that outlined by the provincial department of education.

But, though in outward form the schools have become separate from the church and the racial group, secularization is far from

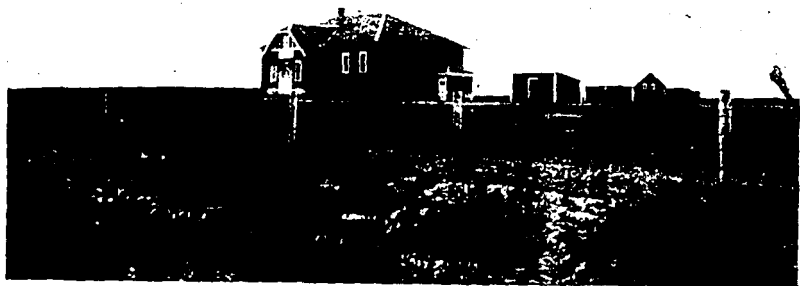


FIG. 62—New two-roomed rural school near Englefeld, St. Peter's colony.

complete. Those in Bruno and Annaheim are staffed by Ursuline Sisters, those in Leipzig and Tramping Lake by the Sisters of Notre Dame. In other centres and in many of the rural schools German Catholic teachers are employed, St. Joseph's colony reporting 50 per cent. in 1930.² These Catholic teachers hold Saskatchewan teachers' certificates; in addition, the Sisters have a longer teaching experience—both total and in the district—than the average colony teacher. Religious instruction, mostly in German, is still given in 7 urban and 6 rural schools in St. Peter's colony and 3 urban and 14 rural schools in St. Joseph's.³ German

² *Bilder und Blätter zum Silbrenen Jubiläum der St. Joseph's Kolonie* (Regina: 1930), p. 125.

³ *The Saskatchewan School Act* permits religious instruction during the last half hour of the school day. Such instruction must be entirely voluntary and pupils not participating must be otherwise profitably employed. In practice the instruction is usually given for half an hour after the regular school hours.

Catholics have shown no aversion to serve as school trustees. Thus, participation in the direction of education by German colonists has been provided for, though both the form and content of the system is determined by the province.

Conflicts have arisen in reaching the present stage of adjustment. For a time, to be sure, there were attempts to retain German as the language of instruction, but the group soon realized that, in Canada, English must be used. German instruction, if any, now takes place after regular school hours, usually as the language of the catechism. Some parents do not encourage their children to learn German, while others say, "We want our children to learn English." Only occasionally is German the language of the playground, where Canadian games and sports prevail. Religious instruction in the schools rather than the question of the German language has been the source of conflict in these colonies. Where the school population is homogeneous both as to language and religion the catechism is taught sometimes daily after the regular school hours. Other difficulties have arisen where the population elements are mixed. In one particular case, religious instruction in French was discontinued with the appearance and attendance of German children. At present, none is given, though presumably an English catechism could be used.

In few cases recently there have been struggles for the introduction of religious instruction. In almost every instance the effort has been to retain the teaching of the catechism in the German language. The conflict is thus a phenomenon of resistance to Anglo-Saxon culture. When the battle has been lost, many, even of the Roman Catholics, are opposed to a reintroduction of the old arrangement. On this particular issue they have adjusted themselves to the customs of the English-speaking community. No issue has arisen in those schools where both racial and religious elements are heterogeneous, for under such circumstances no one group is strong enough to assert itself over all others.

Resistance to the complete separation of school and church has been intensified during recent years by the imposition of new school regulations which forbid the use of religious symbols and the wearing of religious garb in public schools. This imposition revived a German-Catholic consciousness which had been on the wane. Adjustments are still going on, but not with the smoothness of a few years ago.

In one particular village 5 Protestant families had been successful

in petitioning the Minister of Education for a public school. Rather than have this happen, the church authorities advised that the \$18,000 four-roomed parochial school be rented to the public school board. With over 90 per cent. of the population Roman Catholic, the church is still assured of control; for all practical purposes the school will be operated as before, and in addition the district will receive the government grant.

Similarly, in another town the change from a parochial to a public school was made "to fight the government in its own schools." Here the challenge could be accepted, for 87 per cent. of the population is Roman Catholic, 95 per cent. of the population is German Catholic, and the teachers, though members of a religious order, are all qualified to teach in provincial schools. The Sisters come to school in their religious habits, change to secular dress for the school hours, and resume the dress of the order at the close of school. Here they have conceded more than in another case where a compromise was finally achieved by permitting the teachers to wear academic gowns over their other garments.

The above illustrations will suffice to show the nature of the resistance to the secularization of schools. Education has gradually come out from under the dominance of the church. Even in the parochial schools, the provincial course of study is used. The language of instruction is English and the contents of the curriculum are the same as elsewhere in the province. Church influence is exercised indirectly through ordinary democratic channels, as, for example, through Catholic trustees and teachers.

Assimilation through education is nearly complete as a result of the gradual penetration of the provincial school system. Standards in the German colonies compare favourably with English-speaking communities. All the urban centres in St. Joseph's colony and the larger centres in St. Peter's provide instruction to the eleventh grade or beyond. In addition there are the *Ursuline Academy for Girls* at Bruno and *St. Peter's College for Boys* at Muenster. Over half of the rural schools give instruction beyond eighth grade. Enrolment in two-thirds of the rural schools is above the provincial average, and in both urban and rural schools the attendance figure is at least 10 per cent. higher than the provincial average. More than 100 pupils in each colony have received more than a high school education during the past five years. In brief, the German-Catholic settlements are participating creditably in the educational life of the province.

3. *Political Activity of the Colonists*

The penetration of Canadian forms of political and agricultural organization represents a further extension of secular interests in these German-Catholic communities. While they might resist more or less successfully the entry of certain types of social and economic organization, participation in Canadian politics is unavoidable. Consequently, the colony leaders established a type of organization which allowed their entry into politics in a way that modified but slightly their church-centred culture. Nor was there any likelihood that their political organizations would be brought under the control of outside authorities as their schools had been.

The German-Canadian Catholic Association, formed at Muenster in 1908, is closely connected with the Church, in that there is a local branch in nearly every parish in St. Peter's colony. Originally intended to be primarily religious, it has extended its activities to the field of politics. During its existence the association has been able to secure the election of members to both the provincial and the federal legislature.

The political strength of the German vote is illustrated by the career of the present provincial member for Humboldt constituency. It seems that he secured the 1921 Liberal nomination largely because he was a German Catholic. In 1925 he lost the party nomination, but contested the riding as an Independent, and "gave the opposition a severe beating." Again in 1929 he received the Liberal nomination and once again was successful at the polls.

The Germans also take a keen interest in municipal politics. Elections for reeve and councillors are quite warmly contested. The Germans make certain that they get their share of offices and appointments. They elect their own school trustees wherever possible. In addition, St. Peter's colony is a stronghold of the Catholic School Trustees' Association.

The members of this racial group are participating actively in politics. It is clear, however, that the accusation that the immigrant vote can be bought and sold cannot be made in this case. Their franchise is "not for sale" to any political party. While this political activity has a German-Catholic motivation it is nevertheless Canadian in outlook:

We Canadians of German descent, of one mind in the general principles of democracy, stand politically in support of our lawful government. Towards

Ottawa, and not towards Berlin, our eyes are directed for political guidance and leadership.⁴

4. *Their Enlistment in Agricultural Organizations*

The German Catholics have not participated very actively in Canadian agricultural organization. This is due to the fact that the latter has been highly centralized and under the direction of officials in distant centres, and not because "the German-Americans are individualists" as some have claimed. Those organizations which have been able to identify their programmes with the interests of the colonies and the local leaders, have been successful. Furthermore, some agricultural and political movements have made little headway because they are or seem to be associated with ideas which run counter to the traditions of German Catholics. Radicalism, either political or economic, finds little favour among them. Some indication of how and when "they coöperate" is given in the following paragraphs.

The Humboldt Agricultural Society, for example, was organized in 1907 with 120 members. For several years it put on an annual exhibition. But in 1912 and 1913 the townspeople got control. This meant that the agricultural show, here as elsewhere, was dominated by commercial and industrial interests who displayed their wares and made it a big business day in town. Many of these business men were also identified with the extension of secular aims and interests. Since then, though nominally a farmers' organization, there have always been enough directors from the towns to control its policy. The society finally disbanded in 1927 and has not functioned since.

The Germans are very hard to organize. The Humboldt Agricultural Society was never more than a feeble effort. We had difficulties in organizing the first rural telephone company, too. We "stumped" this whole country, but had very little success. They waited until they had other companies all around them and then, when they were sure it was a good thing, they went into it.⁵

The Wheat Pool received only nominal support in the colony. The 1924 membership of 60 per cent. of the German farmers in the colonies did not represent group sentiment so much as expectations of large profits. Many of the original signers have never attended a pool meeting, and have shown little interest in this organization.

Nevertheless, the coöperative spirit of these so-called "individualists" came to the fore during the Community Progress

⁴ Editorial in *Der Courier*, August 23, 1933.

⁵ Field notes, from interview with an "outsider".

Competition, sponsored by the Colonization Department of the Canadian National Railways. St. Peter's colony entered the competition in 1930 and 1931, and gained distinction during the latter year. The Abbot himself was the moving spirit in encouraging the community to take part and a good deal of coöperative work was accomplished.

5. *Newspaper Circulation and Content as an Index of Secular Interests*

Far more pervasive and influential than the average German-Catholic colonist realizes are the newspapers and magazines. They are bought like an ordinary commodity and read by the members of the family group without arousing public attention. Their variety is some indication of the individuation of interest—concomitant of secularization—which is narrowing the gap that separates German colonists from English-speaking Canadians. While there is a sectarian and racial bias in some of their reading matter, German Catholics read both English and German language papers extensively on matters of general interest to all Canadians.

An analysis of subscriptions of 14 farmers shows the following distribution:

TABLE LII—CIRCULATION OF NEWSPAPERS AMONG FOURTEEN FAMILIES IN ST. PETER'S COLONY

GERMAN NEWSPAPERS			NON-GERMAN NEWSPAPERS		
Name	Type	Number of subscribers	Name	Type	Number of subscribers
<i>St. Peter's Bote</i> ...	weekly	6	<i>Winnipeg Free Press</i>	daily	1
<i>Der Nordwesten</i> ...	"	4	<i>Financial Post</i>	weekly	1
<i>Der Courier</i>	"	2	<i>Humboldt Journal</i>	"	6
Religious papers..	"	2	Farm journal.....	"	15
			Other newspapers....	"	14
			Magazines, etc.....	monthly	4

It is significant that English-Canadian papers have a much greater circulation than German-Canadian papers in the two colonies. Many farmers subscribe to three or four papers, two-thirds of which are weekly newspapers or farm journals printed in English. Four of the subscribers to *St. Peter's Bote* do not receive either of the two large German weeklies.

St. Peter's Bote and the *Humboldt Journal* are the local papers. *St. Peter's Bote* and its English mate, the *Prairie Messenger*, are published at St. Peter's College; both are devoted almost exclusively to church news. The *Humboldt Journal*, on the other hand, is entirely secular in its contents. Subscriptions to this paper have steadily increased and the present total of 2,300 subscribers indicates a larger circulation than that of the Muenster papers.

Der Nordwesten and *Der Courier* are the two outstanding German weeklies in the Canadian West. The former, edited by a Protestant, is published in Winnipeg, while the latter, owned and edited by German Catholics, is published in Regina. Both attempt, however, to be impartial in respect to religious matters. Only about 2 per cent. of their space is devoted to church news as such, though a great part of the local news are reports of this character. The advertising, which occupies about 15 per cent. of the total space, is supplied by Canadian firms with the exception of a few patent medicine advertisements inserted by United States companies. News items account for 52 per cent. of the space in these papers, and show great diversification. Over one-third of the space is given to Canadian news, and practically all of this is from the three Prairie Provinces. Approximately the same amount of space is devoted to news from Germany and those countries in which the Germans are interested, such as Austria, Russia, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Hungary. About 20 per cent. of the space given to news is occupied by other items of an international nature, while less than 10 per cent. is devoted to United States news.

Other items include an editorial section covering 2 per cent. of the space, an agricultural page, and a women's page which together account for 9 per cent., and literary items occupy 16 per cent. Miscellaneous items, such as scientific articles, sports, theatre reviews, radio programmes, health articles, etc. occupy the remaining 3 per cent. of this 12-page issue.⁶

Through its own papers, the immigrant group is kept in touch with the outside world. But more than that, it is becoming familiar with Canadian affairs and opinions. The political, economic, and domestic problems of the Canadian community are brought to the very doors of the German settlers by one of their own institutions. Thus their own newspapers have become fundamental means of contact with the culture of their adopted country.

⁶ Analysis of contents of issues of *Der Courier* and *Der Nordwesten* for August 23, 1933.



FIG. 63—Sports day at Muenster, St. Peter's colony.

It is significant to note here that German secular papers were found in only one-third of the homes studied. This fact, taken in conjunction with the much wider circulation of the English papers, indicates a pronounced trend toward secular reading in the tastes of the Germans in St. Peter's colony.

Newspaper indices supplementing the preceding analyses of



FIG. 64—Tramping Lake sports grounds.

major trends in social organization support the conclusion that German Catholics have in a large measure become Canadian Catholics. This change has involved a greatly increased participation in varied secular activities. While all colonists have been susceptible to the assimilating forces of Canadian institutions and their functionaries, operating particularly through commercial towns, the young have been most responsive to these forces. This is indicated by interest in Canadian forms of social and recreational life. The younger generation among German settlers is well represented on the local baseball and hockey teams. An analysis of our data shows that 10 out of 16 families participate in athletics of some kind, a large proportion for a rural sample. Eleven families go to parties and picnics. Though many of the picnics are church affairs and hence identified with the ethnic group, others are the regular sports days in which all participate, regardless of ethnic or religious distinctions. Sports grounds have been provided by community effort at Pelican Lake, near St. Gregor.

The lake is small, possibly two-thirds of a square mile. Near it is a baseball diamond in good condition. . . . There is also a soft-ball diamond and a basketball court. A horseshoe tournament was in progress when these grounds were visited. About 200 people from the surrounding countryside were enjoying themselves after the fashion of any other Western Canadian community. They dressed as other Canadians, and English was the common language.⁷

In fact, newer social and recreational activities have captured the enthusiasm of the younger colonists so completely that it has evoked unfavourable comment from older Canadians.

The older German settlers are praised for their integrity and thrift, but the younger generation is frequently not looked upon so favourably.

Some of the younger ones are not so good; they are all for amusement. I know dozens of old men who have had to buy cars for their children.⁸

6. Conclusion

The assimilation of immigrants living in *bloc* settlements often requires the span of three generations or even longer. The length of time required depends upon the similarities of culture with their neighbours, and the nature of the facilities for transportation and communication in the areas concerned. Conditions have favoured

⁷ Field notes.

⁸ Field notes.

a fairly rapid transformation of these German Catholic colonies into Canadian communities. While the *bloc* has been changed as a whole, the change has been most complete on the part of the younger generation. The behaviour of this latter group is very often indistinguishable from that of other Canadian young people. While their rapid readjustment to things Canadian has resulted in conflict between children and parents, it has been rather moderate for situations of this type.

Already these young people have begun to marry outside their own group. As one might expect, these mixed marriages occur more frequently on the fringes of these *blocs* and in their commercial centres where other racial elements are to be found. On one fringe, a number of the new German immigrants have married Anglo-Saxon women; on another fringe, intermarriage is more frequent between German girls and Anglo-Saxon men. The racial barrier is being lowered to a point where it does not present as great problems as that of religion.

While the young people have been quick to take up the English language it is spoken by their parents extensively as well. In many districts little use is made of the German language. All can understand the simple English of the street, though they may not understand the more complicated language of a sermon. Thus German is often confined to such occasions. It is almost as difficult for the younger people to learn literary German ("*Hoch Deutsch*") as to acquire a third language. Consequently some of the young people and a few of the older ones have not learned "high German" at all. English is the spoken language in a number of homes. Moreover, it is a common occurrence for parents to speak in German and for their children to reply in English. Even when German is used at home, the children speak English among themselves and in public.

Although both the Church and the German-Canadian Catholic Association encourage the use of German in the homes and have been responsible for the provision of private classes, there is little real concern over the fact that the German language is becoming less widely used. A few years ago some German priests, after a tour of the colony, regretted to note that German language and German culture were disappearing. But the Abbot replied: "It is natural. It must come. What of it?"

What has just been cited in regard to trends of language and intermarriage harmonizes with the trend toward secularization described above. This extension of secular interests is, as we have

seen, one of the more important indications of how these *blocs* are becoming Canadian. It is also a preparation for the final phases of their incorporation into Canadian life. There is every evidence that the settlement of German Catholics in *blocs* has made for stability, agricultural progress, and institutional accessibility. Finally, this form of settlement, while slowing up the process of assimilation, has enabled it to go on with a minimum of conflict and disorganization.

PART V
THE FRENCH-CANADIANS

CHAPTER XVII

MIGRATION AND SEGREGATION

IN keeping with other linguistic and ethnic minorities in the prairie region, the French-Canadians have shown a natural tendency to segregate in areas in which their own culture is a dominant feature. While there are many French-Canadian "colonies"¹ in the Canadian West, two representative areas have been chosen—St. Albert district, typical of French-Canadian settlement on fertile land fairly close to a city, and Ste. Rose, typical of French-Canadian occupation of mediocre land on the fringe of settlement. These districts are to be found in the crescent-shaped Park Belt of the western plains.² St. Albert is in the north-central district of Alberta immediately northwest of the city of Edmonton (Figs. 65 and 66). Ste. Rose is in the northern part of the settled portion of Manitoba between the Riding Mountains and Lake Manitoba, just south of Lake Dauphin (Figs. 65 and 67).

1. Geographic Base of St. Albert Colony

The St. Albert district comprises the municipalities of Ray and Hazelwood which extend eastwards from the fifth meridian (114° West Longitude) for about 18 miles. The north boundary is the township line between townships 59 and 60, which passes near the towns of Westlock and Clyde. The south boundary runs east for 8 miles from the meridian between townships 53 and 54, skirts the north bank of Atim Creek, the shore of Big Lake, and the banks of the Sturgeon River, until it reaches the town of St. Albert. Then it dips south for 2 miles, and turns east until it meets the western boundary of Edmonton city limits, near the Dunvegan Yards (see Fig. 66). This area is cut off from other districts on the west by the rough land occupied by the Alexander and Michel Indian Reserves, and on the south by Big Lake. To the northwest the land is rough and sparsely settled by people of various

¹ "Colony" refers merely to the fact that French-Canadians have tended to settle in close proximity to one another, occupying certain townships and municipalities more or less solidly. This allows combined support of their informal culture and the more formal types of religious and social organization.

² The Park Belt is a sub-humid area in which small hill-like clumps of trees have established themselves on the grassland (see Volume I of this series, Chap. V).

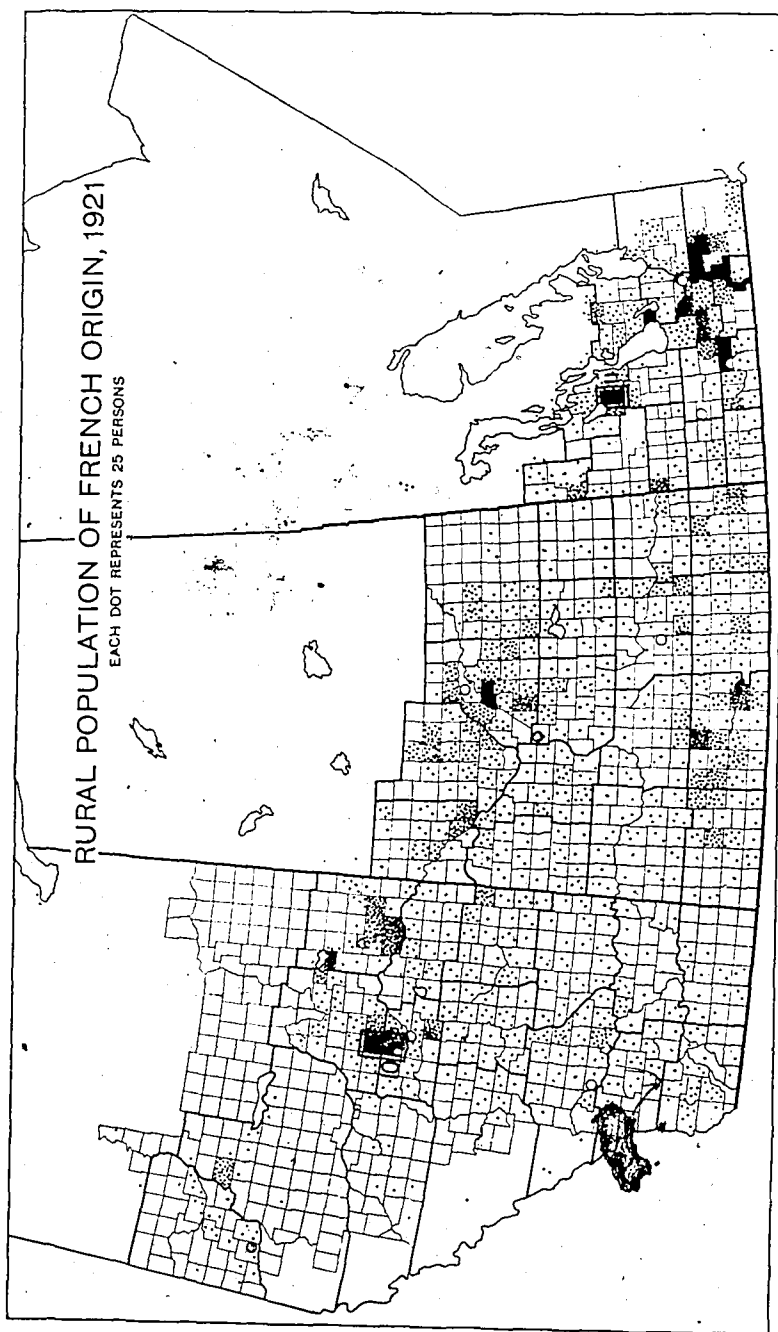


FIG. 65—Rural population of French origin, 1921 (*Statistical Atlas*). Persons of French racial origin constituted 6 per cent. of the population of the Prairie Provinces in 1926. The percentage Canadian-born (84 per cent.) was higher than that for the Anglo-Saxon group. (72 per cent. was rural.)

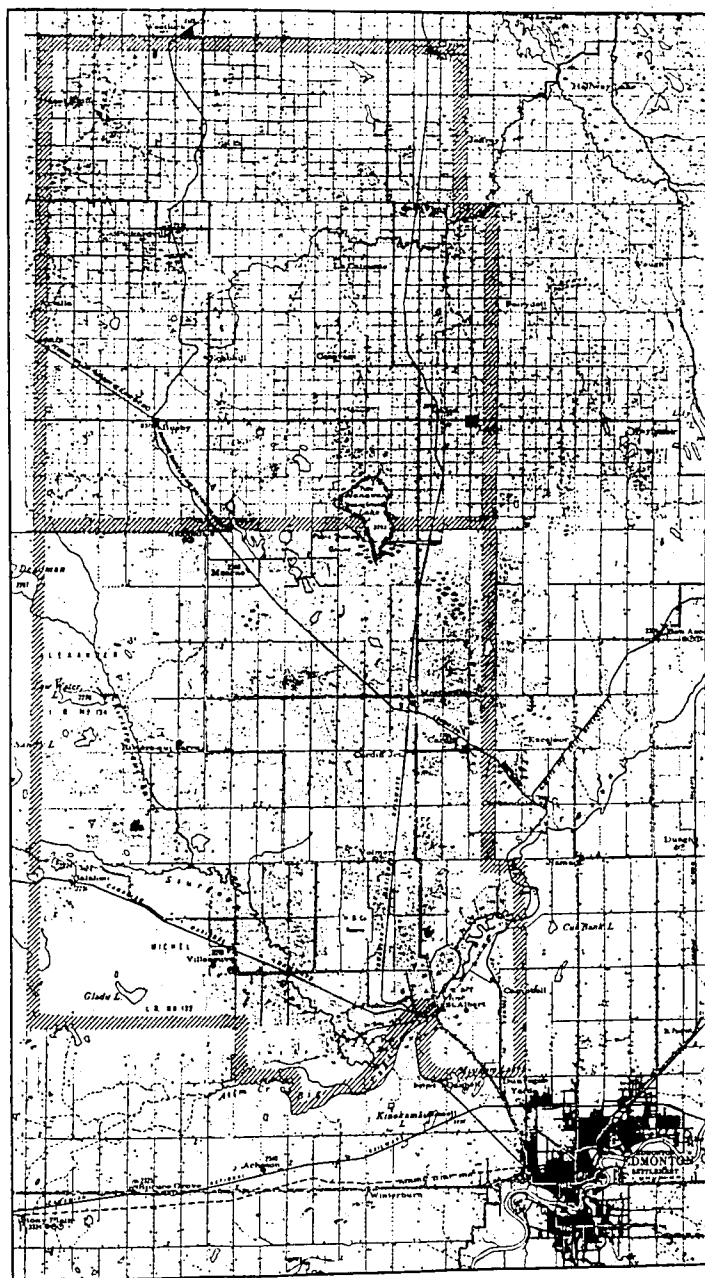


FIG. 66—St. Albert settlement, Alberta, showing (stippled areas) lands occupied by French-Canadians, and (within ruled boundary) area used for statistical analysis. Location: Townships 54-59, ranges 24-26, west of the fourth meridian.

nationalities who have shown no tendency to penetrate the more settled French colony. On the east, however, no barriers separate the St. Albert settlement from adjoining districts. During recent years there have been "invasions" of German, English, and Slavic elements from these districts. To the southeast is the Sturgeon River along which the original French and half-breeds settled. The districts south of the Sturgeon River was settled mainly by British people, but also by a few Germans and Scandinavians.

A heavy dark soil is found in the major portion of the St. Albert district. About one quarter of this northern area, i.e., in the northwest, contains grey timber soil. The land has been very suitable on the whole for production of wheat and other grains, but the raising of livestock is also feasible and its proximity to Edmonton has stimulated the development of the dairy industry.

2. *Geographic Base of Ste. Rose Colony*

The Ste. Rose colony, which comprises nearly 7 townships situated southeast of Lake Dauphin in Manitoba, lies for the most part within the Ste. Rose Municipality (Fig. 67). This district is bounded on the west by sparsely-settled, swampy lands extending from the town of Laurier to Dauphin Lake which forms the northwest boundary. To the north lies poorly-drained land, partly in Ste. Rose and partly in Lawrence Municipality, and to the east and southeast the soil is either swampy or of inferior quality. On the south and southwest is a strip of dark, fertile soil extending along the base of the Riding Mountains. This very desirable northwestern portion of McCreary Municipality has long been an area of racial invasion by English and other settlers from the south and by a minority of French from the north.

Turtle River, rising near the northwestern corner of McCreary Municipality, flows northward, parallel to the western border for the greater part of the Ste. Rose Municipality. Along each bank of this small river there is a strip of dark brown soil about one mile wide. This narrow belt and another small strip to the north of Ste. Amelie contains the best land occupied by the French settlers, except where they have penetrated southward into the black soil belt which lies along the base of Riding Mountains. The low-lying land to the west of the Ste. Rose Municipality is suitable for little else than grazing and wild hay. East of the Turtle River are gravel ridges running north and south where most of the soil is light, stony, or swampy, and its agricultural future is doubtful.



FIG. 67—Ste. Rose settlement, Manitoba, showing (stippled areas) lands occupied by people of French origin, and (within ruled boundary) area used for statistical analysis. Location: Townships 21-25, ranges 14, 15, west of first meridian.

In boom periods the fringe of settlement has been pushed north to Methley, east to Shergrove, west to Makinak, and southeast into the Beaverdam country. But after the slump of 1921 these marginal lands were abandoned and settlement receded within Ste. Rose Municipality except on the southwest.

The sources of livelihood within or near Ste. Rose district are therefore limited. Apart from the small amount of arable land and the more extensive hay and pasture lands, there are some fish in Lake Dauphin, and wood in the Riding Mountains. High grain prices during the war stimulated the cultivation of much submarginal land in this locality, but during recent years a good deal of it has been abandoned. Once more use is made of the wild hay and pasture land for livestock and dairy cattle.



FIG. 68—Statue erected in memory of Father Lacombe, pioneer missionary of the St. Albert settlement.

3. *Early Settlement About the Mission Outposts*

Mennonite and Doukhobor colonies, resulted from single movements of population whereby, in a brief period, whole communities were transplanted to Western Canada. In contrast, St. Albert and Ste. Rose settlements were the outcome of a number of migratory movements different in type and extending over many years. Furthermore, most of these French settlers had not been neighbours, but came from widely separated communities in Quebec, Eastern United States, France, and the Canadian West. Although they had common ties in language and religion, their communities were in other respects far from homogeneous.

St. Albert, dating back to fur-trading days, was one of the first Catholic mission centres in the province of Alberta. Written records show that this outpost, located where travellers crossed the Sturgeon River, was the scene of missionary visits as early as 1843.

The first buildings, a church and a priest's residence, were erected in 1861, and for 20 years St. Albert was the mission base for the whole north country. Its population consisted of Indians and a few scattered white and half-breed trappers. The Youville Convent (orphanage and Indian school) was built in 1863. The Sisters of Charity carried on the work of this institution which gathered in the orphaned children of Indians and half-breeds who had perished in small-pox, typhoid and scarlet fever epidemics. The great pioneer in the establishment of this religious centre was Father Lacombe.³

In Ste. Rose district a mission station was founded by Father Compère in 1875 at a point where the old Arden trail crossed the Turtle River. Services were held periodically. A few wandering traders settled in this district in 1890 and it was not long before the church administration at St. Boniface placed a resident priest at the present site of Ste. Rose. The outstanding leader in the development of the settlement was Father Lecoq. A church and a priest's residence were built, and traders and trappers of the Catholic faith began to settle in this district. The establishment of Ste. Rose as a religious centre took place more slowly than that of St. Albert. The concentration of French in the vicinity of these two religious outposts is typical of a process of segregation which was repeated in many western districts.

Previous to 1880 the fur trade and the buffalo had been the chief means of livelihood on the prairies. The first transcontinental railway, which crossed the western prairies in the middle of the eighties, marked the passing of these pursuits, except on the northern fringe, and agriculture became the main industry. But in the interval of change from old to new occupations, the mobile French and half-breed voyageurs were left stranded and restless. It was difficult for them to give up their adventurous roaming life and settle down to tedious farm work, and in this changing situation the religious centres like St. Albert and Ste. Rose provided the only stable influence. The religious leaders in these centres gave the hunters and trappers agricultural as well as spiritual guidance and helped them to achieve at least a semblance of community stability.

³ Father Lacombe was born in Montreal and educated at Assumption College and at the Bishop's Palace. In 1849 he became a missionary to the Indians of the prairies, and for fifty years he travelled from the territory of Saskatchewan to the Rocky Mountains and from Athabaska to the international boundary line. He established Catholic missions in more than twenty places, among them St. Albert and St. Paul de Métis. His influence over the Blackfoot Indians kept them from joining the Riel rebellion, and prevented disturbances when the C.P.R. built its main line across the prairies. He died in 1916 and is buried in the crypt of the church at St. Albert.

The aid of the priests in these matters was of more than ordinary significance because a large part of the population of Manitoba and The Territories at the time of the 1881 Census were French-Canadians and French half-breeds. In Manitoba, 15 per cent. of the population of 65,954 were French-Canadians and about 12 per cent. were half-breeds. In the Northwest Territories the people of French origin comprised about 5 per cent. of a total of 56,446 persons.⁴ The reports of the oldest inhabitants also indicate that, with few exceptions, French-Canadians and French half-breeds were the first settlers in the St. Albert and Ste. Rose districts.⁵

Two small rivers, the Sturgeon and the Turtle Rivers, formed the base lines of settlement in these French-Canadian districts. The land was marked off into long, narrow strips, extending back from either river bank as was the custom in the old river settlements of the province of Quebec. The log homes were from 200 to 400 yards apart and each community had the appearance of a long village street. Such compactness of settlement, supplemented by a common language and religion, facilitated community coöperation in the building of homes, roads, bridges, churches, schools, and orphanages. This construction was heavily subsidized by funds gathered from Quebec, Eastern United States, France, and elsewhere. Priests of the Oblate Order were the spiritual, and in most matters, the temporal, leaders of these new French-Canadian communities. The Sisters of the religious orders came from France, Belgium, or Quebec to teach the young and nurse the sick.

But hunters, trappers, and traders were not the types to develop stable agricultural communities and despite close supervision on the part of the Oblate missionaries they did not become efficient farmers. When new settlers crowded into the open areas near their villages they began to drift toward the fringe of settlement where at least part of their livelihood could be obtained from non-agricultural pursuits.

4. *Active Colonization*

By 1885 the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway had traversed the prairie region from Winnipeg to the Rockies and the incoming movement of settlers was gathering force. Homesteaders anticipated the coming of additional railway trunk and branch

⁴ The Indians had moved westward from the Red River settlement as evidenced by the fact that in Manitoba they comprised only 10 per cent. of the total population, while in the Territories they comprised some 88 per cent. *Census of Canada, 1881, Vol. I, Table 3.*

⁵ A few Irish or English Roman Catholics settled on the fringe of the Ste. Rose district during this first period of agricultural settlement.

lines into the northern prairie region and the fringe of settlement moved northward, especially after 1890.⁶ At this time the leaders of St. Albert and Ste. Rose colonies sought to maintain and extend their communities through a programme of active colonization. To this end they sought French Catholics in Quebec, France, and the United States.

To further this aim Father Morin brought French-Canadian settlers to Morinville, 12 miles north of the original St. Albert settlement, since much of the intervening area was already occupied. This was followed by the settlement of the Legal district, 12 miles north of Morinville, and the movement into Rivière-qui-barre, 8 miles west of Morinville. All this was accomplished prior to 1900. Active settlement began in Ste. Rose and the adjoining districts of McCreary and Ste. Amelie about 1892 but it proceeded more slowly than in St. Albert. It was directed by Father Lecoq who succeeded in attracting a number of families from France, Quebec, and the United States.

These zealous local priests were not without their allies in Eastern Canada. There were religious and lay leaders in the province of Quebec who desired for French-Canadians a portion of these new lands which were being rapidly settled by English-speaking and foreign peoples. These French-Canadian leaders helped to stimulate the movement of their surplus population to the western settlements, and they also encouraged French-Canadians living in the United States to migrate to the western prairies. The Catholic Colonization Society of Canada supported this westward expansion of French Canada with all its resources.⁷

Local leaders also promoted the migration of settlers to their own districts. This was particularly true of Ste. Rose, where certain business men wrote letters to Quebec describing their prosperous colonies and telling how others could obtain cheap land which would soon increase enormously in value. They also went to immigration agents in Winnipeg in their search for settlers and seemed pleased with the numbers who came as the result of their efforts. For these and other reasons Ste. Rose had a greater mixture of racial elements than had St. Albert where church leaders more completely dominated active colonization. Another factor making for a mixed population in Ste. Rose was its proximity to Winnipeg and the early penetration of the railway into this district.⁸ The surveyors

⁶ The Calgary-Edmonton line of the C.P.R. was completed by 1890.

⁷ W. H. Moore, *The Clash* (Toronto: 1918), p. 161.

⁸ The railway was built through the southern portion of Ste. Rose Municipality in 1897, when the area was relatively unsettled.

blocked out the land in sections and quarter sections before the active colonization of St. Albert and Ste. Rose had taken place. The straggling line of settlement along the rivers was superseded by the scattered distribution of homesteads over a wide area. From this time forward the river banks ceased to be the community base lines and French-Canadians followed the prevailing mode of settlement in the prairie region. The entry of colonists with agricultural experience and greater aptitude for community building caused the displacement of the original French and half-breed settlers. They became marginal elements who were constantly pushed out toward the unoccupied areas. From the St. Albert district many of this latter group moved northeast a hundred miles to St. Paul de Métis where Father Lacombe tried to gather them together once more in a community which would be protected from the competition of the newcomers. Much of the energy of Father Lacombe's declining years was spent in collecting funds to subsidize this settlement and in helping the *métis* to become better adjusted to farming.⁹

Many of the *métis* at Ste. Rose gave up their lands to the French successors and moved to Toutes Aides, a district about 30 miles north of Ste. Rose, or else eastward to districts bordering on Lake Manitoba. Yet little groups of the "originals" have remained to mingle with those who eventually gave the real impetus to agricultural development.

The period of promoted colonization closed about the end of the nineteenth century. At that time the two colonies were isolated from other communities not only because they were predominantly French-Canadian in culture but also because the settlements were surrounded by unoccupied land. Lack of transportation facilities added further to the isolation of St. Albert and Ste. Rose from other communities at this time.

Agricultural development took place slowly during the early years. Settlers were forced to emphasize self-sufficiency. Cattle and other livestock production rather than wheat growing were the main means of livelihood. As a matter of fact the agriculture of these colonies was quite similar to that carried on in the more isolated sections of rural Quebec at that time. But the colonists' productivity was limited by distance from markets and the undeveloped condition of their holdings. It was difficult to obtain the bare necessities of life and little, therefore, was left for the

⁹ Catherine Hughes, *Father Lacombe* (Toronto: 1910).

support of religious, educational, and other services. It has already been indicated that the church leaders went to Quebec and elsewhere to raise funds for such services. At times there were complaints from laymen in the east concerning these "begging priests" from the West.¹⁰

So it happened that during the early years schools were maintained in the towns of St. Albert and Ste. Rose by means of funds drawn largely from Catholic communities elsewhere. Churches and convents provided space for classes and all activities were under the direction of priests or nuns. The traditional determination of French-Canadians to maintain their culture and avoid being drawn into the North American melting-pot was encouraged by their religious leaders who realized that extreme secularization could be resisted most effectively through the close integration of religion and race consciousness. While French-Canadian solidarity was dominant in both colonies, it was less complete in Ste. Rose than in St. Albert because settlers from France and Belgium as well as from Quebec had been enticed to the former district during the period of active colonization. At the beginning of this century the infiltration of new settlers initiated a series of important economic and social changes in both colonies.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

CHAPTER XVIII

INVASION AND SUCCESSION

THE entrance of new population elements, the penetration of the railway with its commercial town, the construction of improved highways, and the use of the automobile have brought about successive changes in French-Canadian as well as in other ethnic colonies. The spatial movements of population, because they kept well in advance of railway extension, will be treated first.

1. *Entry of New Racial¹ and Religious Elements*

At the close of the nineteenth century the Canadian Department of Immigration under the leadership of Hon. Clifford Sifton began a campaign to induce immigrants to settle in Canada and more particularly in the prairie region. Migrants arrived in ever-increasing numbers from Europe and from eastern sections of this continent. Settlement moved westward and northward until land had been taken up on the borders of such outlying districts as St. Albert and Ste. Rose.

The railways which were built to the borders of these two French colonies greatly accelerated their growth. But population changes were not simultaneous for the two areas, nor were the same racial and religious elements attracted to each. For these reasons it seems more convenient to treat each settlement separately.

The St. Albert district² had a rural population of 2,104 in 1901. This number was trebled in three decades, as indicated by a total of 6,996 people in 1931 (see Appendix, Table VIII). The family type of migration was common but it was supplemented by a heavy influx of single men, especially during periods of railway construction. The greatest surplus of males, 133 per 100 females, occurred in 1911 and it coincides with a 50 per cent. increase in the

¹ The terms *racial* and *ethnic* have been used here interchangeably although the writer is well aware of the fact that for scientific purposes *racial* refers to biological divisions of mankind. On the other hand, common usage of the word also implies cultural differences. The term *ethnic* refers, of course, only to cultural differences.

² St. Albert district is here taken to include the area of greatest French concentration which most nearly coincides with municipal units, namely, Ray and Hazelwood Municipalities, Nos. 549 and 579, respectively.

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TABLE LIII—PRINCIPAL ETHNIC ORIGINS IN ST. ALBERT SETTLEMENT,
ALBERTA, AND STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA, 1911-1931*

ETHNIC GROUPS	1911		1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER- CENT- AGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER- CENT- AGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PER- CENT- AGE
a. St. Albert Settlement— Rural areas:†						
Total Population.....	...	.....	5,335	100.0	6,996	100.0
British.....	...	.....	1,796	33.7	2,356	33.7
French and Belgian.....	...	.....	2,667	50.0	3,097	44.3
Poles, Russians, Ukrainians.....	...	.....	120	2.2	380	5.4
All others.....	...	.....	752	14.1	1,163	16.6
b. St. Albert Settlement— Urban areas:**						
Total Population.....	999	100.0	1,578	100.0	1,745	100.0
British.....	151	15.1	188	11.9	329	18.8
French and Belgian.....	761	76.2	1,078	68.4	1,232	70.6
Poles, Russians, Ukrainians.....	3	0.3	10	0.6	45	2.6
All others.....	84	8.4	302	19.1	139	8.0
c. Ste. Rose Settlement:††						
Total Population.....	...	.....	2,491	100.0	1,538	100.0
British.....	...	.....	587	23.6	236	15.4
French and Belgian.....	...	.....	1,749	70.3	1,100	71.5
Poles, Russians, Ukrainians.....	...	.....	14	0.5	13	0.8
All others.....	...	.....	141	5.6	189	12.3

* *Census of Canada, 1911*, Vol. II, Table 7; no data available for rural municipalities. *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. I, Table 27; *1931*, Bull. No. XXII, Table 3.

† Rural areas include Ray Municipality No. 549 and Hazelwood Municipality No. 579, Alberta.

** Urban areas include the towns of St. Albert and Morinville, and the village of Legal.

†† Includes the village of Ste. Rose du Lac and Ste. Rose Municipality, Manitoba.

total population over the previous five-year period.³ When the railway boom ended and the best agricultural land in St. Albert district had been occupied, the flow of migration became slower. Proportionate increases of 16.6 and 12.5 per cent. in 1926 and 1931,

³ In 1911 the sex ratio for the province of Alberta was 149 per 100 females. Since then the ratio for the St. Albert district, like that for Alberta, has varied between 120 and 129 males per 100 females (see Appendix, Table IX).

respectively, suggest that natural increase rather than migration has become the chief source of population growth (see Appendix, Table VIII).

French settlers formed only a very small part of this great stream of migrants to the areas immediately north of the city of Edmonton. British, German, and other racial elements pushed into the St. Albert area, moved northwest toward Rivière-qui-barre and north in the direction of Morinville, until they were stopped at the edge of the more solidly occupied French territory. The newcomers were attracted by the fertile lands in that part of the St. Albert district which bordered on the city of Edmonton, and because of their greater farming efficiency they easily displaced the more unstable French-Canadian *voyageurs* and *métis* who hitherto had occupied the land. That such a displacement had not taken place at the close of the nineteenth century, was due to the fact that the earlier migrants, namely the French-Canadian settlers, had colonized *en masse*. They required a large block of land, which at that time was available immediately north of the original St. Albert settlement. More recent expansion of the French colony has been mainly northward to the edge of the Westlock district which is settled by people of British origin. To the west the Alexander Indian Reserve has formed a barrier, and to the northeast the land has been homesteaded only recently because much of it is swampy and of rough topography. This fringe area, which lies mainly in Opal Municipality, has been settled in part by French-Canadians from the Morinville and Legal districts, and in part by Slavic people. But the central Europeans from Opal Municipality are now pressing across the border of the French settlement and are occupying vacant land adjacent to French-Canadians or else purchasing the latter's farms.

The extent of this invasion by non-French elements is stated in quantitative terms in Table LIII which shows the ethnic origins of the people in St. Albert and Ste. Rose settlements. St. Albert district had a rural population of about 7,000 in 1931, of whom 44.3 per cent. were French, 33.7 per cent. British, 5.4 per cent. were Slavs, and all others, including Germans and Scandinavians, comprised 16.6 per cent. Comparison with the 1921 Census indicated that the French proportion had decreased by 5.7 per cent. during the decade, while the British had remained unchanged. The Slavs and all other groups, on the other hand, had increased their proportions by 3.2 and 2.5 per cent., respectively. It is important to

note that these changes are not entirely due to a displacement of French by other racial elements; though that is true in many cases, but are also explained by the fact that the migration of the French to the area has almost ceased in recent years, while it continues to some extent in the case of the British and the Slavic groups, for example.⁴ Meanwhile a high birthrate, which is typical among French-Canadians, has not sufficed to compensate for this influx of non-French settlers.

St. Albert district thus presents a diversity of racial elements, but with regard to religion there is greater uniformity. Table LIV indicates that Roman Catholics comprised 65 per cent. of the rural population in 1931, Protestants comprised 34.5 per cent., and less than one per cent. were non-Christians. Changes over the last decade include a 4.9 per cent. decrease in the Roman Catholic proportion, and a corresponding increase for the Protestants. The divisions along religious lines coincide in some respects with those for race. It may be fairly assumed, for example, that

the French-Canadians, the Belgians, and the Slavs are all Roman Catholics. But these groups alone do not make up the total Roman Catholic population. In addition, a large proportion of the Irish are Roman Catholics and the same applies to a number of the Germans. On the basis of numerical strength alone it is evident that the Roman Catholic Church is the great uniting factor in community life in the St. Albert district. This inference is further supported by the information on trade centres which will be discussed in section 2 of this chapter.

Population growth in Ste. Rose followed a somewhat different trend from that in St. Albert. A great stimulus to migration was

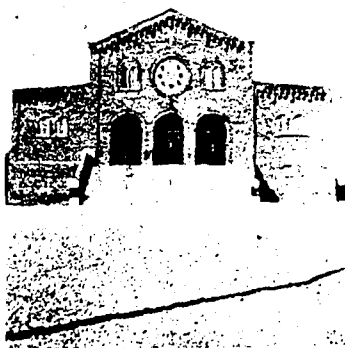


FIG. 69—Roman Catholic church at St. Albert, Alberta.

⁴ The above statement is inferred from the fact that during the decade ending in 1931 the French population increased by 16 per cent., the British by 31 per cent., but the Slavic group by 243 per cent.

TABLE LIV—PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN ST. ALBERT SETTLEMENT, ALBERTA, AND IN STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA, 1911-1931*

RELIGIOUS GROUPS	1911		1921		1931	
	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF PERSONS	PERCENTAGE
a. St. Albert Settlement— Rural areas:†						
Total Population.....	...	...	5,335	100.0	6,996	100.0
Protestants.....	...	...	1,486	27.9	2,415	34.5
Roman Catholics.....	...	...	3,741	70.1	4,545	65.0
Others.....	...	...	108	2.0	36	0.5
b. St. Albert Settlement— Urban areas:†						
Total Population.....	999	100.0	1,578	100.0	1,745	100.0
Protestants.....	68	6.8	68	4.3	91	5.2
Roman Catholics.....	904	90.5	1,503	95.3	1,637	93.8
Others.....	27	2.7	7	0.4	17	1.0
c. Ste. Rose Settlement:**						
Total Population.....	...	...	2,491	100.0	1,538	100.0
Protestants.....	...	...	356	14.3	191	12.4
Roman Catholics.....	...	...	2,063	82.8	1,338	87.0
Others.....	...	...	72	2.9	9	0.6

* *Census of Canada, 1911*, Vol. II, Table 2; *1921*, Vol. I, Table 38; *1931*, Bull. No. XXI, Table 7. Religious data are not available in 1911 for rural municipalities.

† Data given for rural areas include Ray Municipality No. 549 and Hazelwood Municipality No. 579, Alberta. Data given for the typical French towns of St. Albert and Morinville, in above census periods. Figures for the new village of Legal are included in 1921 and 1931.

** Includes Ste. Rose Municipality, Manitoba, and the village of Ste. Rose du Lac. Separate data for the latter are not given until 1931.

given in 1897 when the Portage la Prairie-Dauphin railway line passed through the southwest corner of Ste. Rose Municipality. The boom stage was reached after 1908 when a branch line was built from Ochre River to Ste. Rose du Lac and when a drainage system, financed by the provincial government, was constructed in the area. These developments together with the stimulus of high wheat prices during the war years explain why the rural population in Ste. Rose Municipality increased from 698 to 2,491 between 1901

and 1921 (see Appendix, Table VII). Arrivals to neighbouring districts included 20 to 30 Belgian families who moved into the Ste. Amelie section, some French-Canadians from the old Red River settlements, and a number of English-speaking families who settled along the base of the Riding Mountains in the McCreary and Laurier districts.

But during the decade ending 1931 the population of Ste. Rose Municipality decreased by 953, a decline equal to 38.2 per cent. of its total population in 1921 (see Table LIII).⁵ Reference to Table LIII also shows that the French-Belgian group had maintained its proportionate strength of 70-72 per cent. of the total population, though in actual numbers the total decreased by 649 persons during the last decade. Since 1921, the British proportion has dropped by 3.2 per cent., while the Slavs and Germans, though few in number, showed no decrease. It is interesting to note that the Indian population, included under the classification "all others", increased by about 100 persons, presumably migrants from the nearby reserve.

The Ste. Rose figures in Table LIV show that 87 per cent. of the population for 1931 were Roman Catholics. Although this group showed a decrease of 725 in actual numbers in the decade following 1921, its proportionate strength during that time increased by 4.2 per cent. The explanation is that the Protestants left the area in proportionately larger numbers than did Roman Catholics. This is in keeping with the fact that the exodus of British elements in Ste. Rose has been greater than for the French group (see Table LIII). The instability of settlement is indicative of the sub-marginal character of the land in Ste. Rose Municipality and in this respect it stands in marked contrast to the St. Albert district.

2. The Advent of the Railway, Improved Highways, and the Growth of Trade Centres

By 1916 railways had been built across the central portions of St. Albert and Ste. Rose colonies. The improvement of the main highways has gone steadily forward since that time but only within the past few years has a gravel surface been added to these roads. Since 1915, there has been a marked increase in the use of automobiles and trucks. Improvements in the means of transportation

⁵ About 100 English families from drought-stricken areas in Manitoba settled in the eastern part of Ste. Rose Municipality. However, they returned to their own more fertile districts after the period of drought had ended.

have been followed by the growth of commercial towns, the extension of secular services, and the entrance of non-French population elements. While these factors have combined to bring about economic and social changes in these colonies, the rates of change have been far slower in the trade areas of the outlying hamlets than in districts tributary to the larger railway towns.⁶

Rivière-qui-barre, northwest of St. Albert, and Ste. Amelie, southeast of Ste. Rose, are typical open-country hamlets situated approximately 10 miles from the railway. The former has a population which is almost completely Catholic but of which only about one-third is French-Canadian; the remaining groups are English, Belgian, half-breeds, and Indians. Rivière-qui-barre grew up about the church which was established there in 1897. The present church and a store were constructed in 1902. The anticipated entry of the railway resulted in a building boom and the hamlet soon had 5 stores, 2 hotels, and many new houses. The boom subsided, however, when it became evident that no railway would pass within 8 to 10 miles of the village. Today the church remains and with it 2 stores, a barber shop, pool-room, and a blacksmith shop. For other services the inhabitants of the district go to Morinville 10 miles away or to Edmonton 21 miles distant.

The Catholic religion has been the most influential factor in holding the remnants of this hamlet together and all formal social organization is associated with the church. The priest is Scottish and both English and French are heard in church services.⁷ The English language is commonly spoken in the village and the various ethnic elements mingle freely.

Ste. Amelie, tributary to Ste. Rose du Lac 11 miles distant, is another hamlet in a district of mixed population. Half-breeds, French-Canadians, Belgians, and English have entered this district successively. Here too, the rumours of a railway were heard and a boom period occurred during the war when wheat prices were high. The village population decreased when much of the land in adjacent rural districts was abandoned. Only the church, the school, a store, the post-office, and a small cheese factory have survived the changing fortunes of this marginal district. The French-Canadian traditions have changed very little. All social activities centre about the church and French is the language commonly spoken.

⁶ This statement needs to be partially qualified for those outer districts which have been invaded by large numbers of diverse racial elements.

⁷ In the southern part of St. Albert district is another parish served by an Irish priest. This parish includes both French and Irish Catholics.

But the French-Canadian priest has found it difficult to harmonize cultural differences between the French-Canadians and the Belgians, for it appears that the latter have been somewhat indifferent to the church and to the societies connected with it.

Legal, Morinville, and Ste. Rose are typical of railway towns situated in the midst of almost solid French-Canadian communities. In 1931 their populations were 350, 570, and 339, respectively, and they have small minorities of English and other non-French elements ranging from 10 per cent. in Legal to 22 per cent. in Morinville.⁸



FIG. 70—Main Street in Ste. Rose du Lac, Manitoba.

These invaders have taken over such services as banks, grain elevators, and others which are branch establishments. There is less tendency for English-speaking Canadians to take over the smaller commercial services in French-Canadian communities than is the case in other group settlements. Such enterprises as hotels, general stores, and blacksmith shops, for instance, tend to be retained by French-Canadians.

Legal in the north central portion of the St. Albert colony has a population of 350 people, 87 per cent. of whom are French-Canadians,⁹ and its trade area within a radius of eight miles has almost as great a concentration. This centre was established near a large brick church before the railway and the gravelled highway were

⁸ *Census of Canada, 1931, Bull. No. XXII.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

built from Edmonton, and the town is still one and one-half to two miles away from these transportation facilities. Grain is shipped by rail, while daily truck and autobus service takes care of most of the remaining freight and practically all of the passenger traffic.

Legal resembles the older villages in the province of Quebec. The business houses are strung out along the one village street and homes are situated beyond these at either end of the street. The

church, parish hall, and the rectory are close to the commercial part of the town. Legal's business establishments include 4 general stores, 4 implement agencies, 4 gasoline and oil stations, 2 garages, 2 real-estate and insurance offices, and 1 each of the following: hardware, lumber yard, blacksmith shop, harness shop, drug store, bakery, restaurant, barber shop, beauty parlour, hotel (with beer licence) and pool-hall. The motion-picture house is absent, however, and there is no dance hall, although the pool-room proprietor holds dances on his premises at irregular intervals.



FIG. 71—French-Canadian home in Ste. Rose du Lac, Manitoba.

The religious leaders have sought to centre most of the social activities in the church as is the case among other ethnic groups studied in this volume. There are religious societies such as the League of the Sacred Heart, Ladies of Ste. Anne, and Children of Mary, for men, women, and children, respectively. The priest has organized weekly socials for card-playing and he shows motion pictures regularly, which are particularly well patronized. But however wise and able the church leaders have been in communities like Legal, they have not been able to keep all social activities under their direct supervision.

In the past there were many parties and dances in private homes but these are "on the wane" since the automobile and autobus have appeared. An increasing number of young people are attend-

ing dances and motion pictures in other centres where commercial amusements have come to the fore and where young people are somewhat beyond the reach of their own community's control. Furthermore, this mobilization of social interests away from the local parish base is facilitated by the hockey league which includes St. Albert, Morinville, Legal, and Clyde, the last an English town. The rivalries among these towns bring forth enthusiastic backing of the home team at all match games.

The provincial government also makes its influence felt in many ways, particularly through its school system and its agricultural



FIG. 72—Legal, a French-Canadian village in the St. Albert district.

and health services. The schools in the town of Legal are taught by nuns who have met the standard requirements for teachers in the province of Alberta. French is the chief language of the playground, although the children in the advanced grades of the elementary school speak English with ease. The agricultural representative for the St. Albert district is a French-Canadian. One of his duties is the promotion of school fairs, in which he is aided by priests and teachers. The movement finds ready response as the following description indicates:

Early on Saturday morning wagons and trucks began to arrive in the town of Legal and all vehicles were parked along the fence bounding the parish-hall grounds. The wagons brought livestock, vegetables, and carefully wrapped exhibits of school work to be displayed in the parish hall which served as the

exhibition building. Father C., always at the centre of activities, helped supervise affairs and he was frequently consulted by the government agent. Eight schools from the nearby districts participated in the fair. About 80 per cent. of the exhibitors were French-Canadians but all penmanship and poster work was in English. The investigators heard French spoken by about one-third of the gathering. Most of the children and all of the teachers used English, while French was spoken for the most part by the older generation. Except for this language factor one did not note a great difference between this school fair and hundreds of others held throughout the province. About 300 people were in attendance and among the most enthusiastic were the mothers who seemed as anxious as their children to see the awards of the judges.¹⁰

Other functions under the direction of the Department of Agriculture include weed inspection, the control of pests, and the improvement of field crops and livestock. The latter is done mainly through the promotion of agricultural societies and school fairs. Such activities serve to bring the technical agent of the department into direct relationship with every type of agricultural community, and they are also the means of bringing people of various ethnic groups together. An example of this is seen in the Ste. Rose agricultural society, of which the president is English-Catholic and the secretary an old-country Frenchman. Short courses are held annually by the society and are attended by French and English settlers in the common interest of improvement in agricultural methods.

The work of the district health nurse in the Ste. Rose area illustrates one important phase of the work of provincial health departments. The nurse is a graduate of the Winnipeg Children's Hospital and has had two years' graduate work in a tuberculosis sanatorium. Her district includes Ste. Rose and adjoining municipalities. She examines children in schools and interviews parents of children who have health defects. She gives health talks to mothers and children, supervises school sanitation, and holds clinics for pre-school children. She coöperates with the doctors in the control of contagious diseases, visits tuberculosis patients, inspects destitute homes, and aids the doctor when no other nurse is available. Much of the local clinical work receives the support of the United Farm Women, the Catholic Women's League, and the Women's Institutes. One of her great difficulties is that of covering a large territory in which road conditions are often poor. The French language is another of her great problems although there are few of her clients who cannot understand some English. The

¹⁰ Field notes.

people in this district coöperate freely with the district nurse and are vitally interested in what she is doing. Sanitary conditions in the schools are on the whole satisfactory since the trustees carry out suggested improvements, whenever they can afford to do so. She finds the food of the French-Canadians very similar to that of the English-Canadians in this area, except for the former's preference for soup, salad oil, and the frequent use of fats.¹¹

Increased contacts with the "outside" during the span of one generation have brought about great transformations in these French-Canadian communities. French-Canadian children and



FIG. 73—United church near St. Albert, Alberta. This is the only Protestant church in the St. Albert district. Note the old log church to the right.

many of their parents speak the English language readily. French is predominantly the language of the street and the home, but English-speaking business people and government officials can manage without a knowledge of it. In Legal there is a monthly church service in English and in Morinville there is a sermon in French and English every Sunday. The latter is chiefly for the benefit of the 55 German-Catholic families in this parish. French is employed exclusively in the Ste. Rose parish church but English is coming into use on the playgrounds of Ste. Rose schools. The younger generation is increasing its participation in activities which lie beyond the direct supervision of the parish priest. As was

¹¹ Information supplied by the provincial district nurse.

indicated above, many of these activities are English-Canadian in character.

St. Albert is typical of centres in French-Canadian settlements which have been the scene of a great infiltration of non-French elements. In the area tributary to this town, 42 per cent. are French-Canadian, Belgian, or *métis*, while 58 per cent. are British or members of other ethnic groups. In the town itself, the proportions are 57 per cent., 31 per cent., and 12 per cent. for French-Canadians, British, and all others, respectively. The presence of several roadhouses which are popular with visitors from Edmonton is an index of the changes which have taken place in this community. Many of the business and official positions are in charge of the English-speaking group, although the French operate the general stores, the post-office, and share in some of the other occupations.

The presence of the railway is important mainly in connection with grain shipments, while the gravel highway connecting the town with the city enables St. Albert people to make frequent trips to Edmonton for shopping, amusement, etc. "This community is no longer French-Canadian," said one of its officials, "it is Catholic." Apart from its traditional importance in the French colony, it has become essentially a suburb of Edmonton. The centre of the diocese has been moved to Edmonton and the St. Albert church now serves only the local parish. The constituencies of the convent, the orphanage, and the home for retired clergy, however, extend beyond the confines of the local community. It is quite evident that communities like St. Albert have become, in a large measure, English-Catholic communities. Because of their numerous contacts with outside centres the social and economic changes taking place within them have reached an advanced stage.

3. *Changes in the Means and Modes of Living*

The previous section dealt with population growth in the two French settlements. It is important at this point to discuss the agricultural aspect of the settlement process and to show, as far as available data permit, some of the trends in agricultural development since the beginning of this century.

Some mention has been made of the efforts of early missionaries to encourage farming both in St. Albert and in Ste. Rose districts. Descriptive accounts of these pioneer efforts make it quite clear,

however, that agriculture did not develop beyond the needs of the local community until outside markets became accessible.

The 1906 Census of the Prairie Provinces gives the first agricultural data which can be compiled on a municipal basis for the areas we are interested in here. More complete information is

TABLE LV—SIZE OF FARMS AND LAND UTILIZATION IN ST. ALBERT SETTLEMENT, ALBERTA, AND STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA, 1906-1926*

YEAR	TOTAL FARMS (no.)	AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS (acres)	IMPROVED ACREAGE PER FARM	FIELD CROP ACREAGE PER FARM	WHEAT		OTHER CROPS	
					Average Acreage	Per cent.	Average Acreage	Per cent.
a. Ray Municipality, No. 549—Old French Area near Edmonton:								
1906	379	†	†	66	†	†	†	†
1916	427	276	125	98	6	6	92	94
1921	485	290	134	109	13	12	96	88
1926	504	307	174	133	51	38	82	62
b. Hazelwood Municipality, No. 579—Newer French Area—15 miles north of Edmonton:								
1906	197	†	†	20	†	†	†	†
1916	357	232	55	41	5	12	36	88
1921	645	234	65	54	11	20	43	80
1926	621	241	102	80	47	59	33	41
c. Ste. Rose Municipality, Manitoba:								
1906	202	†	†	36	†	†	†	†
1916	301	208	83	68	37	55	31	45
1921	475	225	97	77	39	50	38	50
1926	332	227	125	92	14	15	78	85

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1906*, Table 27; *1916*, Part II, Table 25; *1926*, Part II, Tables 97 and 98; *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. V, Tables 81 and 82. Municipal data for the 1931 Census are not yet available.

† No data available.

given for subsequent census years, and the data over the period 1906-1926 are presented in Table LV.¹²

Ray municipality, the oldest part of the St. Albert district, is close to the city of Edmonton, and it naturally developed more rapidly than Hazelwood municipality which lies farther north. Census data for the two districts show the same trend in regard to

¹² Compilations are based on data for Ray (No. 549) and Hazelwood (No. 579) Municipalities which approximately correspond to old and new sections of St. Albert district. Data for Ste. Rose settlement are based on the figures for the municipality of the same name.

improved acreage and the amount of land in field crops. The period 1906-1916 was one of relatively greater activity in breaking up new land than that of the next decade, though in terms of absolute numbers the change was greater in 1916-1926. Field crop acreage in Ray municipality, for example, increased by 16,688 acres during 1906-1916, but the increase over the next decade was 25,333 acres. The corresponding figures for Hazelwood were 10,653 acres and 35,335 acres, respectively.¹³

The indices of agricultural development used in the accompanying table are: average size of farms, amount of improved acreage, average field crop acreage, and the amount of land used for wheat and for all other crops.

The number of occupied farms in Ray district increased by 125 in the period 1906-1926, and during the same twenty years the area in field crops rose from 66 to 133 acres per farm, an increase of about 100 per cent. That the homestead period in Hazelwood municipality ended later than in Ray is indicated by an influx of 424 farm operators after 1906-1926, and a change of field crop acreage from 20 to 80 acres per farm, that is, an increase of 300 per cent. in twenty years. The consolidation of quarter-section farms into larger holdings is a tendency which becomes more marked as settlements grow older. An average of 307 acres per farm for Ray in 1926 as compared with 241 acres per farm in Hazelwood indicates different stages in development for the two municipalities. The same inference may be drawn from Appendix Table X which gives the distribution of farm holdings according to size. In Ray district 32.9 per cent. of the farms are a quarter section (160 acres) or less in size, while in Hazelwood 62.2 per cent. of the farms belong to this group. At the other extreme we find that 28.8 of the farms in Ray are more than half a section (320 acres) in size, while only 10.6 per cent. of the Hazelwood farms fall in this class.

Changes in the size of farm holdings are commonly associated with change in farm tenure. Farm ownership, the only form of tenure found during the homestead period, gives way to partly-owned or to rented farms. This trend, as one would expect, has proceeded more rapidly in the old than in the new section of St. Albert district. The figures in Appendix Table X show that 80.7 per cent. of the occupied farms in Ray are owned, while 86.2 per cent. of the Hazelwood farms fall in this class. Tenants, on

¹³ Data compiled from *Census of Alberta, 1906*, Table 27; *1916*, Part II, Table 25; *1926*, Part II, Table 28.

the other hand, comprise 13.5 per cent. of the farms in Ray, but only 8.8 per cent. of those in Hazelwood. The owner-tenant group is of similar proportions, namely, 5.7 and 5.0 per cent., respectively, for the two districts.

The figures for land utilization in Table LV show that neither section of the St. Albert district has ever been predominantly a wheat area. It is true that during the decade 1916-1926 the wheat acreage increased from 6 to 51 acres per farm in Ray and from 5 to 47 acres per farm in Hazelwood. However, the percentage



FIG. 74—French-Canadian farm near St. Albert, Alberta.

distribution of field crops shows that the wheat acreage in 1926 formed only 38 per cent. of total field crops in Ray district. In Hazelwood wheat has become of relatively greater importance, as shown by a rise from 12 to 59 per cent. in one decade. Accessibility to outside markets and rising wheat prices during the war period were two of the main factors in this rapid trend toward a one crop system. Declining wheat prices in recent years, proximity to the city of Edmonton, and the fact that much of the land in St. Albert settlement is suitable for mixed farming and dairying are influences making for greater diversification at the present time.¹⁴

The figures for Ste. Rose municipality indicate somewhat different

¹⁴ Data on land utilization on a municipal basis for the 1931 Census are unfortunately not yet available.

trends in agricultural development from those for the St. Albert district. Comparison of the averages for improved acreage and the amount of land in field crops per farm suggests that in point of time Ste. Rose lags at least 10 years behind Ray district, which is the older part of St. Albert settlement. Nor is the trend continuously upward in the Manitoba area as is the case for the Alberta colony. In the 5-year period following 1921, the number of occupied farms dropped by 143, a decline of 30 per cent. over the 1921 total. Many farm holdings were abandoned as is evident from the fact that the average size of *occupied* farms increased very little. At the same time an increase of 28 acres in *improved* land per farm and a rise of 15 acres in the average field crop acreage indicate that the farmers who remained on the land continued to expand their operations. Moreover, a drastic change in land utilization took place. Wheat comprised 55 per cent. of the field crop area in 1916, but ten years later the proportion was only 15 per cent. Meanwhile other crops, mainly coarse grains and hay, increased from 45 to 85 per cent. of the total field crop acreage. The marginal character of much of the land in Ste. Rose, already described (Chapter XVII) is clearly indicated by the above figures.

Some idea of how French-Canadians have adjusted themselves to western conditions can be obtained by studying the financial status and the expenditure practices of a sample group. Comparison with farm families living in another area under not too dissimilar conditions facilitates such an analysis. Figures for 22 farm families in Ste. Rose settlement have therefore been compared with those obtained during the same year from 12 farm families in the Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba.

Although farming conditions differ somewhat for the two areas, there are certain other similarities which warrant a comparison between them. Both areas have been settled for well over 40 years. In each case the pioneers were people of peasant stock who were united by a common language and a common religion. It must be kept in mind, however, that the Ste. Rose district still has the characteristics of a chronic fringe, while the Mennonite West Reserve is an area where farming conditions have been relatively stable for several decades.

Table LVI shows the average investment in farm property and equipment. The French-Canadians average only \$8,410 per farm for total investment while the Mennonites average \$25,726 per farm. This great difference is related to variations between the

two areas with regard to soil, topography, transportation facilities, and in size and value of farms, and methods of land utilization. *Occupied* land averages 336 and 346 acres per farm for French-Canadians and Mennonites, respectively, while the corresponding averages for *owned* land are 271 and 339 acres per farm. The difference between the two sets of figures gives the acreage of *rented* land for the two groups, namely, 65 acres per farm for the French-

TABLE LVI—VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY
(Comparison of 22 Ste. Rose Farms with 12 Farms in the Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba, 1932)

CLASSES OF PROPERTY	STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA		MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA	
	AVERAGE VALUE PER FARM (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE VALUE PER FARM (dollars)	PER CENT.
Total.....	8,410	100.0	25,726	100.0
Land.....	3,216	38.2	16,168	62.9
Buildings.....	2,523	30.0	5,973	23.2
Machinery.....	1,148	13.7	2,519	9.8
Livestock.....	1,523	18.1	1,066	4.1
Number of occupied farms..	22		12	
Average <i>occupied</i> acreage per farm.....	336		346	
Average <i>owned</i> acreage per farm.....	271		339	

Canadians and 7 acres per farm for the Mennonites. The above figures indicate a greater stability of land tenure for the Mennonite West Reserve as compared with the Ste. Rose area. A more striking difference is noted if we examine the land values for the two groups. The owned acreage for the 22 Ste. Rose farmers ranged from \$1 to \$25 per acre in value, with a general average of \$10 for the sample. Land owned by the 12 Mennonite farmers ranged from \$25 to \$75 per acre, and the general average was \$48 per acre.

Analysis of the figures for buildings and farm equipment indicates

further differences in farm capital. The Mennonite farmers average more than twice as much as the French-Canadians for investment in buildings, machinery and other farm equipment. Livestock investment, on the other hand, averages \$1,523 for the Ste. Rose sample, but only \$1,066 for the Mennonite group.

A glance at the percentage distribution shows further differences between the two samples. Great variation in land values is emphasized by the fact that land forms 62.9 per cent. of total farm investment for the Mennonites, but only 38.2 per cent. for the French-Canadians. Ste. Rose farmers, on the other hand, have proportionately larger investments in buildings, machinery, and livestock than have the Mennonites. The outstanding example is that of livestock in which the Mennonites invested only 4.1 per cent. of their farm capital, while the French-Canadians invested 18.1 per cent. Differences in farming practices are evident from the above figures. Grain farming is much to the fore in the Mennonite West Reserve¹⁵ while mixed farming, especially livestock raising, as already mentioned, prevails in the Ste. Rose area.

Income and expenditure practices are given for the two sample groups in Table LVII. Total income for the French-Canadians averages \$871 and \$1,237 for the Mennonites, while total expenditure averages \$847 and \$1,047, respectively, for the two groups. At first glance it would appear that both the French-Canadians and the Mennonite families had managed to live within their incomes for the year. It is very probable, however, that this surplus is more apparent than real.¹⁶ In any case both groups incurred debts on the year's operations, in spite of the fact that they reduced their inventory by selling some breeding stock, horses, machinery, or other farm equipment. The proportionate distribution of income and expenditure items shows that these French-Canadians and Mennonite farmers derive similar proportions of their income, namely, 76.8 and 77.6 per cent., from farm receipts. Reduction in inventory, which comprised 11.2 per cent. of the income for the French-Canadians and 9.0 per cent. of the income for the Mennonites, was an important means of meeting deficits in the farming industry during the survey year (1932). The French-Canadians

¹⁵ See the separate study of the Mennonites, Chaps. V-IX.

¹⁶ Since both income and expenditure items are based on estimates obtained from individual farmers, it is possible that certain items were wrongly estimated, or perhaps overlooked. The above discrepancies between income and expenditure are thought to be not large enough to invalidate a general comparison between the groups studied here.

derived 9.0 per cent. of their income from sources outside the farm¹⁷ while the Mennonites obtained only 3.8 per cent. in this way. The opposite relationship holds for increase in operating debts, which comprised only 3.0 per cent. of the total income for the Ste. Rose group but 9.6 per cent. of that for the Mennonites. Current debts, such as unpaid interest and taxes, make up the bulk of this item, and the difference between the two groups is probably related to variations in land value and credit facilities in the two areas studied here.

Certain interesting differences in expenditure practices are indicated by the figures for the two sample groups. Farm expense averages \$317 for the French-Canadians or 37.4 per cent. of total expenditure, while the Mennonites average \$648 or 62.0 per cent. of total expenditure. But cash family living averages are higher for the French-Canadians, namely, \$411 per family as against \$292 for the Mennonites. Investment expenditure and interest are of minor importance in both sample groups. But it is worthy of note that investment is the larger item for the French-Canadians, while interest, which denotes borrowed capital or credit, looms larger in Mennonite expenditure.

The figures for farm property (see Table LVI) together with those for farm expense, farm receipts, and interest, all point to larger-scale farming among the Mennonites than among the French-Canadians. Assuming that larger farms and heavier investment make for more adequate incomes, and therefore for stabler settlement, one would expect to find a more comfortable margin left over for family living among the Mennonites than among the French-Canadians. But at the same time the figures for reduction in inventory and for increase in operating debt (see Table LVII) indicate that in spite of greater sacrifices the Mennonite farmers incurred greater deficits than did the French-Canadians. These circumstances must be kept in mind when we turn to an analysis of family living in the two areas.

The French-Canadians derive about one-half of their total family living from each of the two main sources, cash living and farm contributions, while greater self-sufficiency is shown by the Mennonites by the fact that they derive 61 per cent. of their total living from the farm, and only 39 per cent. from cash items.

The analysis of cash living items shows that both in dollar terms

¹⁷ Most of this amount is income from road work, in some cases governmental relief projects, or from sale of cordwood from the nearby Riding Mountains.

and in percentages the French-Canadians spend more than the Mennonites for practically all items, and that the differences are greatest for food, clothing, and household operation. But the opposite relationship holds when we come to the analysis of farm

TABLE LVII—MAIN INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF FARM FAMILIES*
(Sample: 22 French Families from Ste. Rose, Manitoba, and 12 Mennonite Families from West Reserve, Manitoba, 1932)

	STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA		MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA	
Number of families.....	22		12	
Average number of adult units†.....	4.3		5.2	
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ITEMS	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.
a. Total Income.....	871	100.0	1,237	100.0
Farm receipts.....	669	76.8	960	77.6
Other receipts.....	79	9.0	47	3.8
Increase in operating debts**.....	25	3.0	118	9.6
Reduction in inventory.....	98	11.2	112	9.0
b. Total Expenditure.....	847	100.0	1,047	100.0
Farm expense.....	317	37.4	648	62.0
Cash family living.....	411	48.5	292	27.9
Investment expenditure.....	97	11.5	19	1.8
Interest.....	22	2.6	88	8.3

* The first area sampled includes Ste. Rose Municipality, Manitoba; the second includes Rhineland and Stanley Municipalities, Manitoba.

† Adult unit is a device used to reduce family expenditure to a comparable basis. It is assumed here that two children under 17 years of age are equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs.

** Increased operating indebtedness, such as unpaid taxes, unpaid interest for current year, and bills owed for groceries and health, etc., are included here under income for the sake of balancing this item with total expenditure.

contributions. Better housing conditions are indicated for the Mennonites by the fact that rental value of the farm home averages \$187, or 25 per cent. of total living per family, while the corresponding figures for the French-Canadians are \$150 or 18.5 per cent. of total living. Food obtained from the farm, in the form of

meat, dairy produce, fruits, and vegetables, averages \$247 per family for the French-Canadians but \$270 for the Mennonites, or 23.4 and 27.1 per cent., respectively, of total family living.

TABLE LVIII—TOTAL LIVING EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY
(Sample: 22 French Families from Ste. Rose Settlement, Manitoba, and
12 Mennonite Families from West Reserve, Manitoba, 1932)

	STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA		MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA	
Number of families.....	22		12	
Average number of adult units.*.....	4.5		5.2	
ITEMS OF FAMILY LIVING	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER FAMILY (dollars)	PER CENT.
a. Total Family Living.....	808	100.0	749	100.0
Cash living.....	411	50.9	292	39.0
Farm contributions.....	397	49.1	457	61.0
b. Analysis of Cash Living for Six Main Items:				
Food.....	142	17.6	104	13.9
Clothing.....	140	17.3	84	11.2
Household operation.....	42	5.2	31	4.2
Automobile.....	17	2.1	12	1.6
Advancement goods.....	46	5.7	36	4.8
Health.....	24	3.0	25	3.3
c. Analysis of Farm Contributions:				
Rent (10 per cent. of value of house)...	150	18.5	187	25.0
Livestock.....	58	7.2	67	8.9
Other farm produce.....	189	23.4	203	27.1

* Adult unit is a device used to reduce family expenditures to a comparable basis. It is assumed here that two children under 17 years of age are equivalent to one adult as regards family living costs.

A study of both cash and contributed items suggests the following inferences: (1) Mennonite and French-Canadian families differ little in total amounts which are used for family living when measured in dollars; (2) the distribution of this total among the various living items varies considerably, however; (3) the Mennonite

families live on a much more self-sufficient basis than do the French-Canadians; (4) this is further borne out by the fact that the French-Canadians average more than the Mennonites for most cash items, but particularly for food and clothing; (5) there is little difference between the two samples in the spending practices for household operation, upkeep of automobile, advancement goods, and health.

The data for the two samples of farm families were obtained during a depression year. It is therefore probable that they do not measure typical living conditions among French-Canadian and Mennonite families. They do suggest certain striking differences, however, between the two sample groups.

First, there is the tendency for the French-Canadians to depend on cash living items to a greater extent than do the Mennonites. Clothing, advancement goods, and automobile average costs suggest that the French-Canadians, for these items at least, enjoy a better scale of living than do the Mennonites. But cultural practices as to mode of dress and social participation enter into the situation here and the dollar measure is inadequate as a gauge of the scales of living for the two sample groups. The psychological satisfaction from amounts spent on the above items may be as great for the Mennonites as for the French-Canadians even though the former spend less money.

Other variations arise out of differences in the fertility of the soil and other farming conditions for the two areas studied. The Ste. Rose families are not so well situated, economically, as are the Mennonites, as has already been inferred from the figures for farm capital, and the scale of farm enterprise. In a "bad" year, however, they have certain advantages over the Mennonites in that their farm enterprise necessitates less drastic curtailment of expenditure and smaller accumulations of debt than those with which the Mennonites are faced.

CHAPTER XIX

SOCIAL READJUSTMENT

THE entrance and establishment of new peoples and institutions within St. Albert and Ste. Rose colonies involved a series of profound readjustments in their social structure. Some of these changes were touched upon incidentally in the last chapter and will now be subjected to a more specific analysis.

1. Secularization of Education

The first schools in both settlements were financed and controlled by the Roman Catholic Church, but as the communities expanded the educational needs increased beyond the resources of the local church, and the state was called upon to help in the establishment of schools. The French-Canadians would have preferred the subsidization of their own schools by the provincial government but the policy of the latter demanded that control accompany expenditure.

The separate school is a compromise arrangement whereby a given ethnic group segregates at least a portion of its children in schools taught by persons of its own language and religion, and whose activities the local religious leaders keep under close supervision.¹ Such schools are maintained in part by taxes imposed by the electors themselves and in part by government grants, which are awarded on the same basis as in the case of public schools. The provincial Department of Education demands, on its part, that the standard educational content be taught in each grade by teachers who meet the educational requirements of the province and that the work of such schools be regularly inspected by public inspectors. The teaching of specific religious subjects is restricted to a daily half-hour period and all school subjects must be taught in the official language of the province. The separate schools enable the members

¹ Separate schools may be established in Alberta districts by a minority of electors, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. It is necessary for three members of a given religious faith to sign a petition to the Minister of Education for the establishment of such a school, and a vote is subsequently taken of all the electors in the district of the same religious faith. The supporters of a separate school pay only such school taxes as they impose on themselves. That is, they are not assessed for a public school in the district. At the same time the ratepayers supporting a public school are not assessed for the separate school. Once a separate school district is established, it possesses the same powers and privileges and comes under the same governmental supervision as the public school districts. (See *Alberta School Act*, Part I, section 6).

of a given ethnic group to limit the outside contacts of their children, and to hold back in some measure the forces of secularization and "denationalization" which operate so freely in public schools.

Separate schools are most advantageous to French-Canadians who live in closely concentrated communities where the population is mixed. Such schools make it possible for the French-Canadian children to be segregated from those of other ethnic groups, and to be kept more directly under the influence of the French language and the Catholic religion. Yet separate schools are dependent



FIG. 75.—Convent and Roman Catholic church at Morinville, Alberta.

on an adequate number of local supporters. For this reason they are usually built in towns, such as St. Albert and Morinville, where the population is largely French-Canadian. In the absence of separate schools, however, the French-Canadians exert their influence through representatives on the public school boards. This is seen from the fact that most of the town schools in the two colonies are staffed by Sisters of religious orders. Many of these nuns are English-speaking, owing to the scarcity of bilingual teachers. Their influence in impeding secularization is enhanced by the fact that they are more experienced and more permanent than the ordinary public school teacher. In the 31 schools visited by field workers, the religious Sisters averaged 10 years' teaching experience as compared with about 4 years' for the other teachers.

The substitution of English for French as the language of instruction in the schools of St. Albert and Ste. Rose has been accomplished gradually. Despite many compromises, this readjustment has involved conflict, for the French-Canadians in the West have clung tenaciously to their language, fortified by the fact that it has remained dominant in the province of Quebec. Since they have their linguistic home in Canada, it is only natural to suppose that they would resist Anglicization more strenuously than immigrant minorities in this region.

The Laurier-Greenway Agreement of 1896 had allowed French to be retained as the language of instruction for the primary grades in French-Canadian communities of Manitoba. The language clause in this agreement was removed in 1916, and for some years little or no French was taught or spoken in district schools in areas like Ste. Rose. This change proved to be too abrupt and more recent "understandings" allow the use of French as the language of instruction during the early years in a few of the closely-segregated French-Canadian districts. This practice of permitting the use of French for a primary course prevails by law in Alberta.² In French districts of both provinces French may be taught as a subject in the various grades, but this policy often meets with difficulties in districts invaded by other language groups.

In one district 15 per cent. are French and they want the inclusion of French in the curriculum, but the Irish Catholic secretary has been able to insist that no language but English be used in this school. One-half of the people in this district are Germans and he meets their demand with the same answer. Supported by 35 per cent. English-speaking Canadians he has been able to maintain a balance of power in selecting at all times an English-speaking Catholic teacher. The children, in consequence, use English readily and the parents have come to accept this policy as inevitable.

In another district the number of French and English families was about evenly divided. More recently French-Canadians have been buying up farms from English-Canadians and have obtained a small majority for the first time. They have succeeded in engaging a French-Canadian teacher, have introduced one-half hour of catechism after school hours, and they have arranged for one-half hour instruction daily in French for those who wish it. The priest was active in getting the French class started.

In a mixed district where one-half of the families are French and the remainder is composed of Dutch, Polish, Ukrainians and English, the chairman of the school board has found it difficult to find a teacher satisfactory to all groups. However, by engaging a Roman Catholic teacher who can speak French, but not too fluently, he had been able to obtain the support of most of the groups in the district and to maintain English as the only language of instruction.³

² *Alberta School Act*, Part XII, section 146.

³ Field notes.

As the above instances emphasize, each ethnic group wants its own language to be taught as a subject in the curriculum, to have some time devoted to the teaching of its religious beliefs, and to have a teacher of its own faith and mother tongue. Except in districts occupied almost exclusively by members of their own race, French-Canadians, like other groups, are forced to reduce some of their demands regarding teachers, curriculum, and membership on school boards. The working out of compromise arrangements has not proceeded smoothly. There have been secret meetings of the faithful of each group, and school meetings have frequently been the occasion for ethnic conflicts. In certain districts these factional struggles have been endured for many years but the field investigators were informed that they are not so bitter now as they once were.

Provincial departments of education have adhered to the standard curriculum, allowing only such language and religious instruction as permitted by the School Acts. But they have also followed the policy of appointing French-Canadian inspectors for areas where there are large French-Canadian settlements. This has been the case in Ste. Rose until quite recently, and it applies to the St. Albert district at the present time. This arrangement makes for a minimum of friction with regard to administration of the secular curriculum. Of course, it requires a wise and capable inspector, whether he be French or English, to deal with the racial factions in mixed settlements. Secularization of education proceeds far more rapidly in such districts than in those where the population is mostly French, but the attendant strife has retarded the development of those social facilities in which all groups might participate freely. This has been noted in connection with municipal government, agricultural organizations, fairs, and also in respect to social and recreational activities and neighbourly goodwill. There is evidence that families of various ethnic stocks, living under such conditions, suffer from lack of those wider human contacts which are essential for satisfactory family living.

Certain trends are apparent from an analysis of the 31 schools visited by the field workers. French-Canadian children have mastered the use of the English language and with few exceptions it is used at least part of the time on school playgrounds. School attendance is exceptionally good for the solidly-settled French-Canadian school districts in town and country. In comparison with English-Canadian school districts, fewer children in French-

Canadian districts complete the eighth grade, or continue into the high school grades but the lag is not great and there are indications that it will not continue.

2. *Social Readjustment of the French-Canadian Catholic Church*

The French-Canadians were directed to their colonies and guided in their establishment by French-speaking religious leaders. Although some of these early missionaries of the Oblate Order came from France, they soon became identified with French-

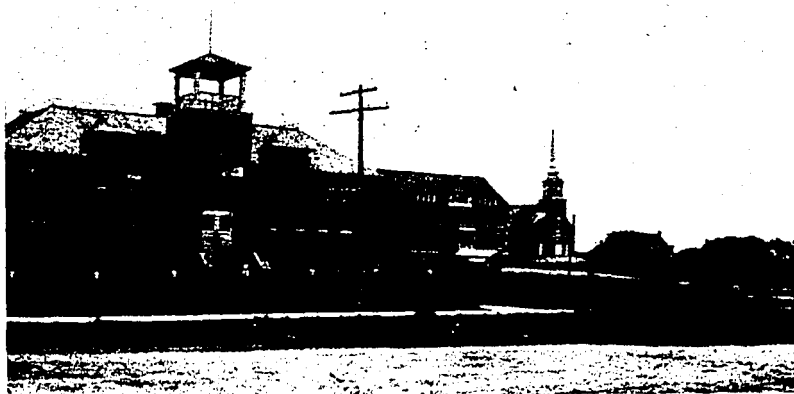


FIG. 76—Public school, the convent of Our Lady of the Mission, and Roman Catholic church at Ste. Rose du Lac, Manitoba.

Canadian objectives in Canada. Throughout the western provinces, as in Quebec, French-Canadians have sought to retain their language as the keystone of their nationalistic aspirations as a group in Canada. Their leaders have made it abundantly clear that loyalty to the French language joined to a loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church makes for a far greater protection from the assimilating influences of the North American melting-pot (with its great increase in secular interests) than could loyalty to the church alone. While this double barrier existed, the internal solidarity of French settlements in the West were disturbed very little by contacts with outside communities.

Yet the detachment of the Catholic religion from the French-Canadian background has been taking place in the Canadian West,

although it has not proceeded far in the closely-segregated French-Canadian communities. Even the latter, however, have been subject to the invasion of other peoples and to the entry of institutions which are alien to their particular heritages. Among these latter institutions, the secular school system has been very influential as already mentioned above. This is particularly true in schools taught by non-French Catholics.

Only a few of the parishes, moreover, have escaped the invasion by other racial groups. The presence of Scottish or Irish priests who deliver sermons both in English and French indicates some of the adjustments which have been made in order to serve settlers who are Catholics, but not of French origin.

The trend of events indicates that in time the French-Canadian Catholic Church will become an English-Canadian Catholic Church in the Canadian West. The free use of the English language by the rising generation together with increasing contacts with English-speaking communities reinforces this observation. In games and amuse-



FIG. 77—Roman Catholic church at Picardville in the St. Albert district.

ments, which are beyond the direct supervision of the local parish priest, the behaviour of the young French-Canadians is revealing trends similar to those found among English-speaking people in Western Canada. While the church has attempted and with much success to provide social organizations for young and old of both sexes, these are not enough for the active, car-riding younger generation who live in communities which are becoming increasingly secular in matters pertaining to education, health methods, reading practices, and social activities. These secular services, mainly in the hands of the English-speaking group, are a means of diffusing English-Canadian ways and ideas among the French-Canadian settlers and of merging their interests with those of English-speaking Canadians whether of Catholic or of Protestant faith.

PART VI
GENERAL SUMMARY

CHAPTER XX

CONCLUSION

1. Stability in Relation to Productive Efficiency

IT SEEMS clear that group settlement as contrasted with individual settlement makes for greater residential stability.

Except on such "chronic" fringes as Ste. Rose and Orton, the number of first settlers who were able or willing to remain on their original farms was extraordinarily high. This indicates that these settlers reaped some permanent material benefit from their early years of struggle. The absence of such returns for hardships endured has been all too frequent under conditions of high mobility.

Stability of residence appeared to be related to productive efficiency because of the continuity of individual effort, but this continuity was both cause and effect in the pooling of the productive resources of the homogeneous group. For the permanent settler was especially useful in group activities because his abilities were known and utilized. In turn, he was able to remain, partly because of joint effort which emerged quite readily in these homogeneous groups.

This unity of productive effort was particularly essential during the first few critical years. In varying degrees Doukhobors, Mennonites, and Mormons pooled their resources, shared farm machinery, joined forces in building roads and in erecting, not only community edifices, but also the houses and barns of settlers. They collaborated in preparing the land for cultivation, in harvesting, and in marketing. Their combined efforts enabled many of their neighbours, threatened with failure, to survive and achieve a measure of productive efficiency. All these forces were operative, in a lesser degree, among less homogeneous groups such as the Germans and French-Canadians. In fact, coöperative endeavour prevails to some extent in all pioneer communities although, under conditions of individual settlement, it is spasmodic and uncertain.

To what extent these ethnic communities have been productively efficient has been indicated in a limited way through statistical analysis. These figures, however, when coupled with more general observation of the types of towns, public buildings and roads, the

extent of landholdings, kind of farm buildings, agricultural methods, and agricultural products show that these colonies have been more than ordinarily successful. There are, of course, minor exceptions to this statement. Under the soil and climatic conditions of such areas as the "chronic" fringes mentioned above, the results of even group settlement appear decidedly meagre. The productive efficiency of both French-Canadians and Mormons, however, compare favourably with other groups when the conditions of soil and climate are comparable. In respect to the standard of living which a given degree of productive efficiency makes possible it would appear that the Doukhobor community members have very elementary consumption practices, in comparison with those of other Canadian communities which enjoy a similar measure of productive efficiency. It must be stated, however, that the Doukhobor community's period of pioneering has been prolonged owing to its relatively recent establishment in British Columbia and Alberta and its re-concentration in certain districts in Saskatchewan. Then, too, its communal system has combined with sectarianism to bring its members, to a smaller degree, under the stimulus of general Canadian modes of living than were members of the other groups studied. The Independent Doukhobors, Mennonites, Mormons, and German Catholics have reached Canadian levels of living or are moving rapidly in that direction. The Mennonites, however, show a culture lag in regard to cash family expenditures, but they have shown their ability to weather depression conditions very effectively through recourse to methods of self-sufficiency which are a phase of Mennonite tradition. All these groups, except the fruit-growers of British Columbia have tended to make wheat their chief cash crop, which is in keeping with the wheat-culture trend of the prairie region as a whole. They have also joined the general trend away from an emphasis on farm-contributed family living, to cash-family living, which seems to be a natural counterpart of extensive wheat growing. There has, of course, been some trend back to mixed farming and self-sufficiency during the depression years, but this may be a temporary adjustment.

2. The Rapid Development of Social Organization

The cultural factors which conditioned the productive efficiency of these ethnic groups also facilitated their social contacts and the establishment of their own institutional services. The loneliness

of the pioneering period was lessened in an atmosphere of sympathy and understanding which made neighbourly visits so frequent. In these homogeneous groups, too, more formal institutional services sprang into being quickly. Religious leadership, church buildings, and varied forms of religious organization emerged at the outset. Schools also were soon established among most of these groups upon their own insistence and very often through their own provision. In varying degrees they developed their own forms of economic organization. To these basic services the members of these colonies soon added a system of social and recreational organization. These institutions were accessible, received a minimum of subsidy, and were not readily displaced by invading institutions at a later date. The evidence makes it apparent that community organization developed readily in these communities and gave to the pioneers a sense of security and permanency during the early stages of their pioneering. It is, of course, true that these colonies were self-centred and stood aloof from the more secular aims which prevailed in the majority of other communities in the Canadian West.

3. *The Problems of Inter-community Adjustment*

It was to be expected that these separatist communities would arouse the antagonism of those settlers who belonged to neighbouring communities in which a more secular pattern of life prevailed. Many of the social and economic movements which had received the ready support of other settlers were met with stout opposition in these colonies. The politics of the latter were uncertain; they seemed to be opposed, in some instances, to public schools, to avoid the official language of the region and, in certain groups, to be antagonistic to the nationalistic sentiments of the linguistic majority. In other instances, while the members of a colony spoke the official language, they adhered to religious tenets which seemed strangely alien. In such a situation the members of outside communities felt uncomfortable and insecure. Naturally they brought pressure to bear on governmental representatives to bring these *bloes* under school, homestead, and all other regulations without delay or compromise. In many instances these ethnic minorities were made extremely self-conscious and resentful by the antagonistic attitudes of their neighbours. In consequence, representatives of governmental departments found the task of extending their activities in certain of these colonies extremely difficult and costly.

A similar strain was imposed on other administrators who sought to unite the members of these *bloc* communities with their neighbours in bringing about improvements in communication, marketing, banking, and many other matters which extended far beyond any colony. All these ventures involved deprivation, waste, and delay. Thus the incorporation of these ethnic communities in the social and economic structure of the prairie region placed a heavy burden upon all its inhabitants. This burden, particularly evident in the case of the Doukhobors, was manifest in some degree for all the groups studied.

4. *The Play of External Forces in the Assimilation of These Ethnic Communities*

All these communities have been subject to the play of natural forces which operated to break down the barriers which separated the homogeneous groups from their neighbours. Participation in the labour market outside, the entrance of the railway, the penetration of commercial towns and the secular institutions which accompanied them, and the entrance of settlers very different in outlook from the original colonists were some of the means by which the ideas and practices of the outside world were diffused within these colonies. While the public school did not make its entrance as unobtrusively as did certain other secular services, it soon became an effective means of extending the channels of contact with other peoples in the prairie region. It seems clear from the evidence analysed that the unplanned play of external forces in the long run tends to eliminate much, perhaps all, of the distinctiveness of separatist colonies. School and other governmental regulations, when wisely administered, facilitate enormously the apparently inevitable assimilation of these ethnic minorities. Some of those who have attempted to hasten this assimilation by ill-chosen means, have unwittingly retarded it by arousing the self-consciousness and recalling the receding solidarity of these colonies. Assimilation may be facilitated by extending types of social organization to these ethnic communities if administrators learn how to work with the inevitable tide rather than against it.

PART VII
APPENDIX



APPENDIX

TABLE I—AN ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF YEAR 1903 OF
DOUKHOBORS' COMMUNITY IN CANADA*

NUM- BER	ITEM	AMOUNT
		\$ c.
1.	35 head of horses bought in Spring in Wpg.	6,719.50
	5 Stallions.....	3,150.00
	323 head of horses bought from Ryan & Fares	25,696.00
	7 head " bought from Buchanan & 2 from Plaksin	1,200.00
	Freight and Expences when all horses was furnished, being different things for Renchmen's and guards	906.05
	Total	37,671.55
	FARM IMPLEMENTS ETS.	
2.	4 portable engines with Thresher machines	9,250.00
	2 Traction " "	6,000.00
	2 Saw Mills.....	900.00
	Oil for engines, to Govt. Inspector and ets.	142.24
	Paid for Doukhobors at Rosthern	2,000.00
	Repairs for engines and expences for engenners	1,100.00
	50 binders, 32 mowers, 20,000 lbs of twine	10,309.00
	45 disk harrows, 20 seeders, 16 wagons, 109 plows, 234 sections of harrows, 12 Flaning Mills and 152 sleighs	14,092.55
		43,793.79
3.	Dry goods bought in Wpg and Yorkton	29,338.29
	Forward:	110,803.63
4.	Lands which we got from Government and which was bought by Mr. Peter Verigin.....	36,250.00
5.	Bought wheat, oats and flour	9,720.20
6.	Harnesses and boots and shoes leather	13,445.22
7.	Winter Boots, shoes ets for mens and ladies	4,913.58
8.	Hardware tool's ets.....	5,901.11
9.	Salt coal oil and glass.....	2,653.08
10.	Sugar tea and Greese.....	2,294.87
11.	Wool.....	1,505.00
12.	Soap.....	1,767.00
13.	Rapeirs for flour mills and expences for millers	868.63
		\$108,656.98
	Total	\$190,122.32

384 ETHNIC GROUPS IN WESTERN CANADA

14.	Sheeps.....	1,461.00
15	Butter 2 tubs.....	1,765.72
16	Freight for all gods & ets by Ry.....	1,530.75
17	Money sent to Siberia, Maude and other places	3,086.00
18	Railway Transportations and expences.....	852.15
19	School at Devils Lake	745.85
20	House (office) built at Yorkton	303.60
21	To Joseph Korstantinovich	300.00
22	Wasily Golooleoff expended for engines & threshers	364.60
23	Expences for office and "typewriter"	284.35
24	To Zagor Mayer (blacksmith)	255.00
	Forward:	201,071.34
25	To H. Archer in different time	157.50
26	Lended to Miphody (Russian)	125.00
27	For starting all machines	142.00
28	Expences for saw mills	155.00
29	John Podovinnikoff expended for him & workers at Yorkton	41.46
30	Timber permits town taxes for Doukhers land & ets in Yorkton	83.10
	TOTAL	201,775.40
31	Some living of all 47 villages	13,769.52
	TOTAL	215,544.92
32	Receipts of all 47 villages from work of all workers	152,474.24
	OWE	63,070.68

Paiment of owe must be in stores of city Winnipeg
in Automn 1904 & without interest

Note:—The original form and spelling has been retained.

* For source see footnote 22, Chapter I.

LETTER OF PETER VERIGIN TO THE COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION AT
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA*Otradnoe Village,
Feb. 19th, 1904.

John Obed Smith, Esq.,

Dear Sir:—

We have received at last few days very many packets, which means for all homesteads, entried for Doukhobors land. The require is of Regina, from Deputy Commissioner of Public Works, B. J. Saunders, for each homestead are taxes \$2.00.

It was very wondered for me, that assessment of taxes, are for land, which was entried in last days of November 1903. I think land which was entried in month of November 03 would be possible to set at liberty from taxes, because ratepairs instead, to use they have not seen many homesteads, and in end of year 1904, we are willing to pay taxes for it.

Will you kindly inform me, could we fixt this misunderstanding, if you please, and if it will be possible to you, to write about that to Regina, aformantioned Commissioner. I suppose, that this are road taxes, why they cessed this taxes by money, as Doukhobors would wish to work by their nature proper time of days, of each homestead. Do you remember, you told us also, that if we want we can work ourselves instead money.

By this notice we aught to pay over \$4,000.00. And I tell you very sincerely, that Doukhobors now has not one cent, by an account for 1903 year it came very great expenditure, although those expenditures was going for useful purposes; for instance; buying horses, farm implements, etc., so that we are owed for last year over \$60,000.00. (I beg to enclose you a short an account of receipts and expenditures) besides that grain was geted here by Doukhobors not fully, in many places wheat was frosted even frosted an oats, now we are buying wheat and oats are supposing, that it will not be enough till next grain.

I have intention to ask you dear John O. Smith, that paiment for land in month of April, you would devide, and one half about \$5,000.00 we although will take in the Bank for interest, and will pay to you, and please await one year more for the balance. God will help and Doukhobors will amend, and all owes will be in time paid, as Doukhobors have ploughed lots of land last year and we hope for good crops, and will cultivet land proper way, as the climate here are requiring to seed as early as possible.

The an account which we have enclose herewith, if you wish you can put in newspapers.

With full oblige to you.

(Sgd. Peter Verigin)

John Obed Smith, Esq.,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

* From unpublished documents of the Department of Immigration and Colonization. This letter from Peter Verigin has presumably been written in Russian by him, while the translation has probably been made by his interpreter, as Verigin could not write English.

TABLE II—SIZE OF FARMS AND FARM TENURE IN KAMSACK-CANORA AND BLAINE LAKE DISTRICTS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1926*

	KAMSACK-CANORA†		BLAINE LAKE**	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
a. Size of Farms:				
Number of farm holdings.....	3,090	100.0	608	100.0
1 - 160 acres	1,596	51.7	283	46.5
161 - 320 "	957	31.0	203	33.4
321 - 480 "	334	10.8	77	12.7
481 - 640 "	138	4.5	26	4.3
641 - 800 "	37	1.2	13	2.1
801 - 960 "	14	0.4	3	0.5
961 - acres and over.....	14	0.4	3	0.5
b. Farm Tenure:				
Number of farmers.....	3,090	100.0	608	100.0
Owners.....	2,269	73.4	533	87.7
Owner-tenants.....	385	12.5	36	5.9
Tenants.....	436	14.1	39	6.4

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics), Tables 95 and 97.

† Includes rural municipalities of Coté (No. 271), Sliding Hills (No. 273), St. Philips (No. 301), Keyes (No. 303), Buchanan (No. 304), and Livingstone (No. 331), Saskatchewan.

** Includes rural municipality of Blaine Lake (No. 434), Saskatchewan.

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TABLE III—SIZE OF FARMS AND FARM TENURE IN MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA, AND IN ROSTHERN COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN, 1926*

	MENNONITE WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA†		ROSTHERN COLONY, SASKATCHEWAN**	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
a. Size of Farms:				
Number of farm holdings.....	2,202	100.0	1,246	100.0
1 - 160 acres.....	1,295	58.8	558	44.8
161 - 320 ".....	688	31.2	374	30.0
321 - 480 ".....	155	7.0	178	14.3
481 - 640 ".....	52	2.4	81	6.5
641 - 800 ".....	6	0.3	27	2.2
801 - 960 ".....	5	0.2	17	1.3
961 acres and over.....	1	0.1	11	0.9
b. Farm Tenure:				
Number of farmers.....	2,202	100.0	1,246	100.0
Owners.....	1,442	65.5	734	58.9
Owner-tenants.....	223	10.1	207	16.6
Tenants.....	537	24.4	305	24.5

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926*, Tables 95 and 97.

† Includes Rhineland and Stanley Municipalities, Manitoba.

** Includes Warman (No. 374) and Rosthern (No. 403) Municipalities, Saskatchewan.

TABLE IV—TRENDS IN THE SEX RATIO FOR THE MORMON COUNTRY COMPARED WITH THAT FOR THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA, 1901-1931*
(Number of Males per Hundred Females)

YEAR	PROVINCE OF ALBERTA	RURAL AREA OF GREATEST MORMON CONCENTRATION†	PRINCIPAL MORMON TOWNS**
1901.....	128	125	122
1906.....	140	134	116
1911.....	149	144	117
1916.....	126	139	110
1921.....	123	132	107
1926.....	120	130	113
1931.....	121	124	106

* *Census of Alberta, 1906*, Table 1; *1916*, Table 1; *1926*, Table 5; *Census of Canada, 1931*, Vol. II, Table 21.

† Includes rural municipalities of Cochrane (10) and Sugar City (37), and also the Local Improvement Districts Nos. 8, 9, and 38.

** Includes Cardston, Magrath, Raymond, and Stirling.

TABLE V—SIZE OF FARMS AND FARM TENURE IN NORTH AND SOUTH AREAS OF THE MORMON COUNTRY, ALBERTA, 1926*

	NORTH AREA† RAYMOND-MAGRATH DIST.		SOUTH AREA** CARDSTON-KIMBALL DIST.	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
a. Size of Farms:				
Number of farm holdings.....	900	100.0	817	100.0
1 - 50 acres.....	358	39.8	111	13.6
51 - 160 ".....	131	14.5	161	19.7
161 - 320 ".....	165	18.3	221	27.0
321 - 480 ".....	70	7.8	110	13.5
481 - 640 ".....	78	8.7	88	10.8
640 acres and over.....	98	10.9	126	15.4
b. Farm Tenure:				
Number of farmers.....	900	100.0	817	100.0
Owners.....	645	71.7	589	72.1
Owner-tenants.....	68	7.5	116	14.2
Tenants.....	187	20.8	112	13.7

* *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. V, Table 81; *Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1926*, Tables 95 and 97.

† Includes Sugar City Municipality No. 37, and Local Improvement District No. 38.

** Includes Cochrane Municipality No. 10, and Local Improvement Districts Nos. 8 and 9.

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TABLE VI—SIZE OF FARMS AND FARM TENURE IN ST. PETER'S AND ST. JOSEPH'S COLONIES, SASKATCHEWAN, 1926*

	ST. PETER'S COLONY†		ST. JOSEPH'S COLONY**	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
a. Size of Farms:				
Number of farm holdings.....	1,656	100.0	2,817	100.0
1 - 160 acres.....	505	30.5	526	18.7
161 - 320 ".....	563	34.0	1,030	36.6
321 - 480 ".....	305	18.4	551	19.6
481 - 640 ".....	164	9.9	406	14.4
641 - 800 ".....	65	3.9	144	5.1
801 - 960 ".....	28	1.7	80	2.8
961 acres and over.....	26	1.6	80	2.8
b. Farm Tenure:				
Number of farmers.....	1,656	100.0	2,817	100.0
Owners.....	1,208	72.9	1,726	61.3
Owner-tenants.....	331	20.0	611	21.7
Tenants.....	117	7.1	480	17.0

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926*, Tables 95 and 97.

† Includes Rural Municipalities Nos. 369, 370, 371, and 400.

** Includes Rural Municipalities Nos. 349, 350, 351, 352, 379, 380, 381, and 382.

TABLE VII—VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY
(Sample: 13 Farms in St. Peter's Colony, Saskatchewan, 1932; 134 Farms in Davidson-Craik District, Saskatchewan, 1931)

FARM VALUES	ST. PETER'S COLONY		DAVIDSON-CRAIK DISTRICT	
	AVERAGE PER FARM (dollars)	PER CENT.	AVERAGE PER FARM (dollars)	PER CENT.
Total.....	18,460	100.0	24,463	100.0
Land.....	12,131	65.7	17,125	70.0
Buildings.....	3,494	18.9	3,964	16.2
Machinery.....	1,362	7.4	2,120	8.7
Livestock.....	1,473	8.0	1,254	5.1
Number of occupied farms.....		13		134
Average occupied acreage per farm (owned and rented land).....		551		741
Average owned acreage per farm.....		514		441

TABLE VIII—GROWTH OF POPULATION IN ST. ALBERT SETTLEMENT, ALBERTA AND STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA, 1901-1931*

YEAR	ST. ALBERT SETTLEMENT, ALBERTA†				STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA**	
	RURAL		URBAN		RURAL	
	Number of Persons.	Per cent. increase over preceding census	Number of Persons	Per cent. increase over preceding census	Number of Persons	Per cent. increase over preceding census
1901	2,104	....	521	....	698	....
1906	2,620	24.5	746	43.2	1,123	60.9
1911	3,927	49.9	999	33.9	1,379	22.8
1916	4,202	7.0	1,186	18.7	2,056	49.1
1921	5,335	27.0	1,578	33.1	2,491	21.2
1926	6,219	16.6	1,554	—1.5	1,866	—25.1
1931	6,996	12.5	1,745	12.3	1,538	—17.6

* *Census of Northwest Provinces, 1906*, Table 1. *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1916*, Part I, Table 4 1920, Table 20. *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. I, Table 16; 1931, Bull. No. XXI.

† Rural areas include Ray (No. 549) and Hazelwood (No. 579) Municipalities, Alberta. Urban areas include the towns of St. Albert and Morinville, and the village of Legal. Separate figures for Legal a new centre, are not available until 1921.

** Data here refer to Ste. Rose Municipality, Manitoba, and to the village of Ste. Rose du Lac.

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TABLE IX—TRENDS IN THE SEX RATIOS FOR ST. ALBERT AND STE. ROSE SETTLEMENTS AND FOR THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, 1901-1931*

YEAR	PROVINCE OF MANITOBA	ST. ALBERT SETTLEMENT ALBERTA		ST. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA**
		Rural	Urban	Rural
1901.....	119	123	124	128
1906.....	128	125	101	116
1911.....	121	133	109	125
1916.....	114	127	98	119
1921.....	111	130	103	128
1926.....	108	129	99	115
1931.....	111	124	92	117

* *Census of Northwest Provinces, 1906*, Table 1; *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1916*, Part I, Table 4; 1926, Table 20; and Introduction, Table 5; *Census of Canada, 1921*, Vol. I, Table 16; 1931, Vol. II, Table 21.

† Rural data include Ray (No. 549) and Hazelwood (No. 579) Municipalities, Alberta. Urban data include St. Albert, Morinville, and Legal.

** Data include Ste. Rose Municipality and the village of Ste. Rose du Lac.

TABLE X—SIZE OF FARMS AND FARM TENURE IN ST. ALBERT SETTLEMENT, ALBERTA, AND STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA, 1926*

	ST. ALBERT SETTLEMENT, ALBERTA				STE. ROSE SETTLEMENT, MANITOBA	
	RAY MUN. No. 549		HAZELWOOD MUN. No. 579		STE. ROSE MUN.	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
a. Size of Farms:						
Number of farm holdings....	504	100.0	621	100.0	332	100.0
1 - 160 acres.....	166	32.9	386	62.2	214	64.5
161 - 320 ".....	193	38.3	169	27.2	77	23.2
321 - 480 ".....	92	18.3	33	5.3	22	6.6
481 - 640 ".....	34	6.7	20	3.2	12	3.6
641 - 800 ".....	12	2.4	10	1.6	4	1.2
801 - 960 ".....	5	1.0	2	0.3	2	0.6
961 acres and over.....	2	0.4	1	0.2	1	0.3
b. Farm Tenure:						
Total farmers.....	504	100.0	621	100.0	332	100.0
Owners.....	407	80.8	535	86.2	223	67.2
Owner-tenants.....	29	5.7	31	5.0	33	9.9
Tenants.....	68	13.5	55	8.8	76	22.9

* *Census of Prairie Provinces, 1926*, Part II, Tables 95 and 97.

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